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ASSOCIATE EDITOR IN ARCHAEOLOGY: H. B. WALTERS

ADVISORY COMMITTEE: PROFESSOR R. M. BURROWS, S. H. BUTCHER, M.P.,
J. W. MACKAIL, T. E. PAGE, MISS E. PENROSE, V. RENDALL

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The Classical Review

FEBRUARY 1907

EDITORIAL

WITH the first number of the new series it is necessary to say a few words about the change which has been made. The *Classical Quarterly* and the *Classical Review* are to be complementary: the editors act in concert, and contributions offered for either will, if suitable, be considered for insertion in the other, unless the authors have intimated that they do not desire this. The *Quarterly* will be the place for articles which are necessarily long, elaborate, or technical, those which appeal more to the specialist in any branch; the *Review*, for papers of more general interest to scholars. Reviews and notices of books will be published as a rule in the *Review*, but occasionally, if their subject make it desirable, in the *Quarterly*. No book will be reviewed in both. In addition, the *Review* will try to meet the wants of those who regard classical studies from a practical standpoint. Educational questions will therefore be dealt with: the place of classics in national education, whether at school or university; the methods of instruction; the justification of classical work as compared with subjects which are more directed to the earning of money. The *Review* will also include articles which bear on general culture: the light which the past may throw on the present, the relations of the ancient world to the modern, in history, literature, and science, natural or philosophical.

In this way it is hoped that the *Review* may gain the attention of two large classes

which have hitherto successfully kept outside of its influence: the schoolmaster and the man of the world. For the first class, indeed, it may become a valuable help, if he will do his part. Articles and correspondence are invited which may record experience and criticism: reasoned criticism of the existing system, whether in defence or attack; and experience of any kind, which may either suggest improvements or justify conservatism. In this regard, the work of scholars and teachers of the past may be examined, to see what it has to give us of warning or of help; and the experiments now being made in this country or elsewhere may be made known and estimated. The importance of such an attempt at the present time will hardly be denied, when we are confronted with attacks both in front and in flank upon the traditional subjects of our educational work. If we are to keep the classics in schools and universities, we must convince public opinion that they deserve to be kept, and that we are dealing with them in the right way; and the first thing necessary for this object is that we should have other than sentimental reasons for the faith that is in us. Frankness in self-criticism, and a mind open to argument, are indispensable. The *Review*, therefore, will not without question assume any hypothesis to be right, but will welcome evidence of all sorts, and sober argument in support of any hypothesis that can be defended. Only it will not admit unreasoning

denunciation or unreasoning championship of things either old or new.

In pursuance of these aims, our readers now have before them, besides articles and reviews of the same general type as before, a paper by Freiherr von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff on the study of Greek in schools. This

has been translated and abridged, under the author's supervision, from a memorial lately drawn up by him and presented to the German Board of Education. It will be understood that this paper is given as the author's opinion, not necessarily to be accepted by our readers, and we invite their criticism of it.

ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

GREEK IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOL, WITH SUGGESTIONS FOR A NEW GREEK READER.

THE more our knowledge is widened, the more clear becomes the importance of Greece and the Greek language. Not only Europe, but the East shows their influence: even Palestine and Syria, Armenia, Arabia, India. Every branch of human thought owes its first inspiration to Greece. Theologians are at last learning that Christianity can only be understood in the light of contemporary Hellenism; as in philosophy, as in astronomy, mathematics, and geography, so in medicine and natural science, the modern spirit finds itself closely linked with the ancient.

Now the curriculum of our schools has been devised not as an introduction to Greek literature, but only to some small part of it. The choice of books depends on their aesthetic or humanistic interest, poetry standing in the front, and philosophy in the background. Everything 'unclassical,' except the New Testament, is excluded, and the work from the very beginning is done minutely as a philological exercise. Even the New Testament is read without being brought into connexion with the literature of its own time. Grammar and school books deal only with the classical speech, as on the assumption that a few certain books will be read and never another line. In Germany, the schoolboy's vision is practically confined to Homer and Sophocles: many of those men who are the essence of Greek greatness are not known so much as by name.

The fact is, our Greek studies have lost touch with the spirit of the times, and have not even kept up with the advances of scholarship. The world has lost its respect for antiquity as an ideal: but it has learnt to recognise a vital growth of culture through some fifteen hundred years, which is not only the source of our own, but in a sense its parallel; and this is all Greek, for Rome is only a province of it. True, the latest phase of this growth, and Christianity its latest offspring, came to the West through the Latin language: but as the reform of Christianity was brought about by a return to the Greek Bible, as science in all its branches has been gradually brought to independence by research in its Greek sources, so our culture can only live by intercourse with its source. Gospel Christianity cannot stand, if the knowledge of the Greek Testament be confined to professors of theology, since to understand the Greek Testament it is necessary to understand the world to which it was given. There is good reason for the hostility of positivism and materialism to the spirit of Greece. To Greek study is due the intellectual leadership of France in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, England in the eighteenth, and Germany in the nineteenth. But each century has sought that which suited its own needs: our schools now give the fragments of that which was suited to the needs of a hundred years ago. We can only remain true to the past,

if we discard its form and keep to its spirit.

Our present aims are conditioned by the time which can be spared in the school work. We are not devising an ideal course for the schoolboy, but one which may best use the brief time left us by the pressure of circumstances. I assume here that only the last four years of school life, with nine lessons a week, are at our disposal. And Greek cannot be considered apart from the general curriculum; for the main principle of these last and best years of school life must be to gather up all the scattered threads of school teaching into one whole. Greek is already connected with religion, with literature, and with history; we must therefore point out how it is bound up with mathematics and natural science. All this will then only be possible, if the language be learnt rapidly and as a means to understanding the literature. The trouble of learning the grammar will no longer seem too great, when Greek shall be, not one of the elegancies of life, but a guide to the continuity of history, a study of simple forms of life which will make clear the more complex. The intelligence must be brought to bear on substance and form. Moreover, we do not want learned men, but an intellectual *élite*, leaders of the people, in any station of life to which they may be called. For this the first thing necessary is that the language must not be studied for its own sake. To be versed in pure Attic, in the classical as it used to be understood, may be necessary for the scholar, but has nothing to do with the schoolboy. For us, the Gospels are classic, full as they are of blunders for the classicist. The old world-wide culture had for its medium this world-wide language: and those who spoke it must have found the same difficulties in Thucydides and Sophocles as an Englishman finds in Chaucer. Attic is not to be neglected, but it is to be treated as a part of the whole. The language of Homer has more claim to universality than Attic; Homer is indeed at the root of Greek culture, and we will study him therefore, but at the beginning, nor must we give him a preponderating importance. The chief place in the V. form is his, but he

should be no longer read in the VI. The school grammar needs to be re-written, the natural course being Homer first and Attic afterwards. This will enable the learner from the first to grasp the fact that Greek syntax is psychological, not logical, like Latin. In Greek, we have the true language of nature. And since Herodotus is so Homeric, there is a satisfactory prose author to read with him. In the second year then, the pupils must learn scientifically the changes of sound which produce the later Greek; thus they learn what neither Latin nor French can give, and German not easily, the growth of language: which in its form at first expresses natural feeling, but is afterwards modified by the intelligence. The importance of a complete mastery of this subject and its principles makes it necessary to have a lesson each week given specially to grammar: not that the explanation of the authors should have a knowledge of grammar as its aim, but its principles have a value for all. Language is, after all, the most wonderful creation of human genius; in Greek, the pupil may learn to grasp its natural structure. Much that we admire in the Greeks is due to the perfection of their language; and this may teach our boys to respect their own. No one has ever spoilt his style by the study of Greek; whilst in France now, as in the sixteenth century, the highest perfection of style is due to Greek studies. A tragedy, not necessarily of Sophocles, is to be read in the last year, with such of Plato's dialogues as may serve for an introduction to his philosophy. For want of this many a young man is led astray by the dangerous fallacies of modern Sophists, such as Nietzsche. The *Apology* and *Crito* are not enough: something is wanted to touch the heart and awaken thought, such as the *Phaedo*, the *Gorgias*, the first book of the *Republic*. These pieces with their religious fire are suited to awaken the enthusiasm in the young mind, and to lead the way to St. Paul.

We have the year in the Lower VI. left to deal with, and a little time besides. For this a special Reader should be devised, to introduce the learner to those points of Greek thought which he may have missed. One might in one half give special attention

to the historical and geographical side, in another to the philosophic and scientific. The scheme appended hereto will show better than words how the pupil may be led to see that all roads lead to Greece.

Two criticisms may be made on the choice of matter. In the first place, there is no oratory. Certainly Demosthenes as an orator is far above Cicero, and there is much in Isocrates of importance for the history of prose style: but formal oratory is to be found both in Latin and in French, even in the poetry of those languages, and there seems to be no room left in the four years of Greek. At the end, a few short speeches perhaps may be read. Secondly, there is no poetry. Perhaps a few epigrams and elegies ought to be added. But these are trifles; and we must beware of the lyrical fragments which lead to further studies in dialect.

To attain our end there must be a lightening of the elementary grammar. This is effected partly because we deal with mature intelligence, so that the grammar is assimilated more in the way that serves the university man to learn a new language: general laws must be brought home to the learner, and most of the exceptions must disappear. A great help to this end is to begin with Homer; but such a thing is unfortunately difficult now for want of beginners' books. We may expect, however, that scholars will soon meet the want. Another great relief to the learner would be to omit the accents in his own compositions, and to pay no attention to their rules.

It must not be denied that this reform is a heavy call on the teacher. The modern teacher who is to take the upper classes in hand must have a wide and special knowledge of his subject, and must not think that a better knowledge (say) of Latin can make up for an inferior knowledge of Greek. He must have an important place on the staff, and must not be overburdened with work.

An objection is made to the scheme here proposed, that whilst the time for beginning Greek is postponed, the work to be got through is increased. True, the time is short, that cannot be denied: rather than try to diminish it still further, let the whole thing be given up. But the work contemplated is not

more, only different. And if the material of the Reader seems too full, there is no compulsion to read it all. On the contrary: where the teacher has special gifts in one direction, one or other part may be preferred. Only the highest work, tragedy, Plato, Paul, must never be omitted. If there be two such qualified men on a staff, the individuality of each may have play: in any case they will give the lads what can be given only by this method, the historical sense which conceives human life as an organic whole, and culture as something not made but a natural growth; and the comprehension of those simple elements which underlie the world of nature and of intellect, despite all apparent complexity or difference. Learned men and *dilettanti* we shall not produce, but philosophers in Plato's sense: who with the love of the eternal in their breasts, will learn how to take part in the life of their time, in the world, yet not overcome by it, masters of their fate.

SCHEME FOR A GREEK READER.

I.—*Tales.*

1. Aesop's Life, chaps. 10, 12, 15, 22. Prototype of Owlglass, the Fables, and the Jest-books.
2. Lucian, *True History*, i. 30—ii. 2. Adventure in the Whale's Belly. Prototype of Gulliner.
3. Dio. 7. The Euboean Hunter: scenes of peasant life.
4. Longus, iii. 3—11. Scenes of shepherd life. Easy and amusing pieces, which are yet important as the beginnings of several literary kinds.

II.—*History.*

1. Solon. Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 2, 3, 5—12. Solon's poems to be given as appendix.
2. Themistocles. Thuc. i. 128—138. Aeschylus, *Persæ* 290—470: battle of Salamis (moderately easy).
3. Pericles. Thuc. ii. 65. Plutarch, *Pericles* 36—39, with omissions.
4. Alexander. Speech to the Veterans and Death, Arrian vii. 8—11, 24—30. Besides a clear portrait of the great king, we have here a firsthand authority in the extracts from the Court Journal.
5. Scipio the Younger. Polyb. xxxii. 8—10. A striking portrait.
6. Caesar's last schemes and death. Plutarch, *Caesar* 582—67. Important also for its use by Shakespeare.
7. Attila's Court: easy to disengage from the account of Priscus. Truth to the life, and exact report of a keen observer, shewing the Greek

historical genius living a thousand years after Herodotus, and the Greek language (not at its best, it is true) used to describe the barbarian king.

These are inimitable pictures of great men: the remaining three sections give some insight into the social conditions of the Roman revolution, and thus help historically to comprehend Cicero, Caesar and Augustus, who stand in the centre of the Latin course.

8. The revolution of Tiberius Gracchus. Appian i. 7-17. The Agrarian Laws.
9. The First Slave War. Diodorus 34 (extracts). This makes clear the importance of the slave population.
10. Slave Wars in Chios. Athenæus vi. 265. A charming tale with a romantic colour, which helps us to understand ancient slavery.

III.—Political Science.

1. Pericles's funeral Oration. Thuc. ii. 35-46. Really the ideal of the Athenian Democracy. Its main lines have been seen in Solon.
2. Political Principles. Aristotle, *Pol.* i. 2, 3; iii. 1-11.
3. The Cycle of Development. Polyb. vi. 3-9. To be compared with Plato, and the way thus leads to Machiavelli, Montesquieu, and others.

IV.—Natural Science and Natural History.

1. The structure of the world and its principles. Aristotle (*i.e.* Poseidonius) *περὶ κόσμου*, extracts. The conception of the universe before Copernicus must be made clear.
2. Shape of the earth, zones, mapping. Strabo ii. 110ff. A specimen of really scientific physical geography.
3. Climate and the Races of Mankind. Hippocrates, *περὶ ἀέρων ὑδάτων τόπων*, last chapters.
4. Biological observations from animals. Extracts from Aristotle, *Hist. of Animals*, 9.
5. Gaul, Britain, the Alps. Strabo iv., omitting the narratives. Specially valuable: the picture of Caesar is profound, Thule is no mere name, the Greek culture on the Rhone is shown, and the effect of the Alps on southern peoples.
6. The position of Rome, and the capital of the world. Strabo v. 3, 4, 5, 8. He who reads this in his youth, will see Rome with other eyes in his manhood.

V.—Mathematics, Physics, Mechanics.

1. Euclid. Beginning of the elements, and a few pieces which must be chosen by experts. Some extracts must also be added from Archimedes and Apollonius.
2. Heron. Doctrine of the vacuum, with application to one or other of his pneumatic constructions.
3. The gigantic ship of Hiero. Athenæus v., 40-44.

VI.—Hygiene.

1. Hippocrates *περὶ ἱερᾶς νόσου* 1-7, 14-21. This is enough to show the physiological-scientific principles. Quite easy and very interesting.

2. Diocles (Oribasius, ii. no. 22). Daily Life of a Greek in the fourth century, B.C.
3. Athenæus (Oribasius, ii. 23). Life in the first century after Christ. The changes since Diocles show a great stride in the history of culture.

VII.—Philosophy.

1. Plato, *Memo.* 13-21. Recognition, Recollection, Socratic method. Valuable as including a mathematical problem, so as to show the logical value of mathematics; charmingly treated.
2. Aristotle, *Ethics* x. 6-10. Goal and Ideal of Life, *vita activa et contemplativa*.
3. Value of Life and Wealth. Extracts from Theophrastus and Epictetus. Krantor in Sextus, *contra math.* xi. 52. Teles: Stobæus, *Flor.* v. 67.
4. Chance and Foresight: Plutarch *de Fortuna*.
5. The Stoic pantheism in its relation to Ethics. Marcus Aurelius: Selection. Frederic the Great's favourite book may interest many a lad who cares not for Plato.
6. Maximus, Or. 8. Defence of the worship of images. Actually held up to the early Christians as folly.

VIII.—Christian Antiquities.

1. The liturgical pieces from the Didache.
2. Clement, *Protrept.* 11, 12. *Strom.* vi. 157-168. Both show the attempt to attract the educated classes to Christianity.
3. A genuine Martyrium, say that of Pionius.

IX.—Aesthetics and Criticism.

1. Plato, *Phaedrus* 268-279. Value of writing, nature of prose. Indispensable, since the piece cannot be read as a whole.
2. Aristotle, *Poetics*: Definition of Tragedy and the chief passages. Not suited for reading, but may be translated by the teacher.
3. Rules and Genius: Longinus, *De Sublim.* 33-36. Of the greatest importance in literary history. Too hard for reading, but the teacher may translate it.

X.—Miscellaneous.

1. Greco-Latin school conversation (Haupt, *Opusc.* ii, p. 510), exactly answering to our specimens of foreign conversation, instructive and amusing.
2. The Seven against Thebes. Apollodorus. *Bibl.* iii. 57-73. This also is an ancient schoolbook.
3. Dionysius Thrax, Grammar: chief passages. Since all grammars and their terminology go back to this pamphlet, and the names of cases, moods, and parts of speech come from it and have a meaning only in Greek, it is worth while to call attention to it.
4. A selection of original letters; important particularly for the study of Paul, and interesting in themselves. Darius Hystaspes' son, Alexander, Epicurus Augustus, a speech of Nero, private people.

U. VON WILAMOWITZ-MOLLENDORFF.

APOLLO AT THE AREOPAGUS.

THE Greek and Latin literatures of antiquity are often obscured to us not a little by one of the circumstances which most contribute to make them interesting. We have borrowed, and in borrowing have distorted, so many of their cardinal words. Historical errors, not yet extinct, might have been avoided, if it had always been realised and remembered (for example) that, when Virgil called Augustus *deus*, his thought, however faulty, did not in the least resemble what the term might import to a Deist. And so Aeschylus, if our habits of mind were explained to him, and he were asked to set the *Orestes* in that key, would require, as a first condition, some substitute or substitutes for *theos*.

To that universal and mysterious Something, which underlies and embraces all symbols, Aeschylus repeatedly refuses to assign any final and proper name; and had he chosen one, it could scarcely have been *theos*. In the *Eumenides* the *theoi*, all and collectively, appear as one element in a discord eventually harmonised. And as for those superhuman personages, themselves confessedly subordinate to higher authority, who actually appear on the scene—if we are to call them *gods*, we must do so only as Milton may bestow the name, loosely and rhetorically, upon the population of heaven or of hell.

Indeed, the Athena of the trial scene, and still more decidedly the Apollo, is even less distinguishable from humanity than Milton's Raphael from the innocent Adam. Apollo's position in the drama, his relation to the story, is incompatible with any such estimation as we associate with the epithet 'divine'. He pleads before human judges as a defendant, we must almost say as a criminal; and it is necessary to the issue designed, that he should barely escape condemnation. A personage, whatever he may be called, who can be placed in such a position, must, if the picture is to have any truth, be frankly exhibited as frail. If he were either intellectually or morally impeccable, the situation would be

monstrous, and therefore uninteresting. But it is nevertheless not quite easy for us—or at least I have not found it so—to see such a 'deity' always in the true light. And it may be worth while therefore to insist for a moment, not upon the pomp and majesty which the Aeschylean Apollo shares with the other figures of the Aeschylean Areopagus, but upon the plain and unqualified realism of the part which he plays as an advocate. Let us briefly survey the argument from this point of view.

The prosecuting Erinyes, invited by the president to commence, engage the defendant Orestes to answer, with corresponding brevity, a series of brief interrogations. 'Our number,' they say, 'forbids us to be prolix.' It has been inferred by some from this expression that the altercation which follows should include parts for all the Chorus, as it may do if we suppose them to be twelve,¹ but cannot if, with tradition, we take them to be fifteen. Nor in fact does it seem desirable that the number of the examiners should be visibly ended, and their resources presumably exhausted, when Orestes is silenced and finally forced to invoke the advocacy of Apollo. On the contrary, if this conclusion is reached *before* all the prosecutors have had their say, the more natural is his recourse to the god, and the clearer the signification of what is plainly intended, that his own efforts have been decidedly unsuccessful.

This could hardly be otherwise. Even the skill of Sophocles in investing the case, as he does in his *Electra*, with an imaginative halo of religion and poetry, and obscuring thereby our natural instincts, would hardly have been equal to the task of making the matricide an effective respondent to examination before a court of justice. Aeschylus attempts nothing of the kind. Orestes in this first skirmish is altogether unfortunate. In his desire to exhibit that

¹ Provided that vv. 607–608 are divided between two speakers. The numbering of the verses here and elsewhere is that of Dindorf and Sidgwick.

confidence in his prospects, which no human being in the circumstances could possibly feel, he falls on the other side, and takes a tone which, if we must not call it jaunty, is scarcely to be fitted with a better epithet. Having admitted that he killed his mother, he is asked 'how he did it'—*ὅπως κατέκτανες*. This means, of course, that such an act ought to be impossible; it appeals to human instinct. Orestes, who dares not traverse the instinct—and in the presence of an Areopagus no Orestes could—tries, not unnaturally but most unhappily, to parry the question by pretending to misunderstand it: 'I will tell you: with a sword I did it.—And I say further—by cutting her throat.'¹ One could not well answer worse, and perhaps none but a matricide could have answered so badly. Indeed, the quip shows, what the *Choephori* abundantly confirms, that the matricide in Aeschylus, when all is said, is after all a man of such a sort as we cannot wish to be common. So far Aeschylus would have gone with Euripides.

The nature of a wilful misunderstanding is pertinently illustrated in the ancient Greek commentary by a dignified parallel in Homer;² but there is no dignity in the evasion of Orestes, or in fencing with such a word as *how*. 'Do you know how Miss Bates and her niece came here?' says Emma Woodhouse to Mrs. Weston at an evening party.—'How? They were invited, were not they?'—'Oh yes,—but how they were conveyed hither?—the manner of their coming?'³ Mrs. Weston really misapprehends the question, and not without reason, for it could scarcely be understood rightly, if detached from the previous thoughts of Miss Woodhouse. But the formal parallel to the sally of Orestes is oddly exact; and the difference of occasion and circumstances may serve to show why the thing displeases us, as it does, in a man answering before justice for the slaying of his mother.

Still worse does he fare when, after a few

¹ 592 λέγω· ξιφουλκῇ χειρὶ· πρὸς, δέρην τεμῶν, to be punctuated so, as grammar requires. The abruptness of form is intentional, and worthy of the sense. In v. 593 the examiner explains the question as intended.

² *Il.* 15. 41.

³ Jane Austen, *Emma*, chap. 26.

more passes, he produces his substantial reply to the charge. Defence, properly speaking, he can have none. The special circumstances of the case, the villainy of his mother, the wrongs of his father, are excuses, not defences proper, and ought to be pleaded, as they are afterwards pleaded by Apollo, eloquently, rhetorically, and with a broad appeal to feeling. But the man himself, unwilling to give himself a terrible name, would fain distinguish between 'having killed' his mother and 'being her murderer.'⁴ Accordingly, he now endeavours to put his moral excuse in such a formal and technical shape as may seem to establish a distinction between the Orestes now before the court and the Orestes who cut the throat of Clytemnestra. He resorts, in fact, to what, in language evolved long afterwards, we should call a metaphysical separation of personalities. It was not the son who slew, nor the mother who was slain; it was the injured husband and father who, by the hand of his representative, took the woman's life as the just payment for his own. The argument is similar to that of Clytemnestra herself in the *Agamemnon*,⁵ when she says that, as slayer of the king, she 'is not his wife at all,' and will not be so entitled; not she, but an avenging spirit clothed in her form, has offered this sacrifice to the demon of the house. This distinction, manifestly destructive of all responsibility whatever, is summarily rejected in the *Agamemnon*,⁶ in spite of imaginative treatment which, in the mouth of Clytemnestra, makes it plausible and impressive. It is not improved by Orestes, who, having the fear of a legal tribunal before his eyes, tries to put the idea into the strict forms of logical debate:—

'How dare you appeal to the dead,' says the examiner, 'after taking the life of your mother?' 'There were two among the dead,' replies Orestes, 'to whom her crimes had laid her open.' 'How so?', says the examiner, scenting some subtlety not likely to convince common sense; 'How so? Explain this point to the jurors.' 'She had slain her

⁴ Note the change of tense in vv. 587–588 κατέκτοντας—ἔκτεινα.

⁵ v. 1498.

⁶ *ib.* 1505.

husband, and (in that same act) *my father*.' These, he would imply, the husband and father, are the real agents of the deed for which he is arraigned. But he encounters a *reductio ad absurdum*, which neatly and irrefragably exposes the confusion between a distinction of names and a distinction of persons:—'And from this it follows that, you being alive, your mother is no murderer at all.' Orestes for his purpose has identified himself with Agamemnon: it was Agamemnon, alive in his son's person, who slew Clytemnestra. Push this a little further, says the refutation; if Agamemnon *was* then alive in his son, when did he cease so to live? Is he not *now* alive in his son? And if so, how can Clytemnestra have been guilty of his death?¹

Foiled on this ground of his own choosing, the defendant springs off to another: 'But while my mother lived, why did you not pursue *her*?' The Erinyes defend their consistency by the narrow definition of blood-guilt which they have propounded in an earlier scene of the play: the wife was not of *the same blood* as her husband. Whether this limitation is sound, or whether even the Erinyes of Aeschylus are always faithful to it, is manifestly not the point now before the court, who are trying not the prosecutors but the defendant. Accordingly he does not assail their theory, but meets them directly with the indignant question:

¹ 599–603:

XO. νεκροῖσι νῦν πέπισθι μητέρα κτανών.
 OP. δυοῖν γὰρ εἶχε προσβολάς μισμάτων.
 XO. πῶς δὴ; δίδασκον τοὺς δικάζοντας τᾶδε.
 OP. ἀνδροκτονοῦσα πατέρ' ἐμὸν κατέκτανε.
 XO. τοιγὰρ σὺ μὲν ζῆς ἡ δ' ἐλευθέρα φόνου.

With δυοῖν supply νεκροῖν from νεκροῖσι. In the last verse, σὺ μὲν ζῆς expresses a proposition which we should make subordinate, though the Greek, as often, puts it as parallel with the inference from it. The argument, stated with a brevity which, like some other parts of this scene, suggests that in substance it was already familiar to the audience, is made unintelligible in modern texts by the change of μισμάτων to μισμάτων (Elmsley) and φόνου to φόνῳ (Schuetz). The attempts to explain the text so corrected take no account of τοιγὰρ (*therefore*), as some have noticed, and are open to other objections, besides the general objection that they leave the whole without point. In v. 600 the metaphor ἔχειν προσβολάς τινα (*to be open to the attack of*) is military; see προσβολή. The case of δυοῖν is dative. The genitive μισμάτων defines the nature of the προσβολαί or 'assailable points.'

'And am I of one blood with such a mother as mine?' 'How can you disclaim,' they retort, 'that blood of which you were made?' And this is the question which Orestes refers to Apollo. 'The act,' he says, 'I admit; but does it in truth and justice involve blood-guilt?' Let Apollo say.

But the divine advocate is far too wary, and too well acquainted with the strength and weakness of his cause, to follow the line thus indicated. So long as he possibly can, he avoids entirely the issue prescribed, and the technical pleading which the defendant has so unprosperously pursued. His line is not so much to defend as to excuse; his two topics, the only two which he touches voluntarily, are the authority of the Delphian oracle and the villainy of Clytemnestra.

As to the authority of the oracle, Aeschylus is in a position of much delicacy. The dramatic situation which he has created—on the one hand the presence of the oracular god, and on the other hand the fact that, even in that presence, the obedient servant of the oracle is condemned by one half of the court—makes it impossible for the dramatist either to ignore or to insist upon the reasons for *not* admitting that words spoken by the Pythian prophetess were always an absolute justification of any and every act which they might be supposed to authorise. These reasons were familiar to the age, but Aeschylus could do no more, and no less, than to indicate that such reasons existed. This he has done. The general principle, that the Delphian oracle speaks the mind of Zeus, and therefore cannot be in error, is declared by Apollo with great solemnity. But when the prosecutor attempts to elicit those more precise explanations of the principle, and of its application to the present instance, which Aeschylus would have been only too glad to discover and reveal, she is met, as might be expected, only by rapid and discreet evasion. The prosecutor adopts, under protest, the assumption that the oracle represents the supreme deity: 'Zeus—to use your language—gave the command.' But what did Zeus say? Did his words, the words of Zeus, cover exactly the case of the defendant? Was Orestes, he and no other, to be told, as from Zeus, just this, that 'when

he *had taken* revenge for his father,¹ he was to treat his mother as a thing of no account'? The question bristles with insidious difficulties. An answer to it, a frank and satisfactory answer, would involve among other things what Aeschylus, for good reasons, never gives, a citation, word for word, of the oracular utterance.

But Apollo vouchsafes no answer at all. He proposes rather to show that, for an outrage so atrocious as the murder of Agamemnon, no death, or deaths, could be an equivalent. 'There is some difference,' he exclaims,

in the slaying of a noble man, by Heaven invested with imperial dignity, the slaying of him by a woman, not with a gallant weapon, the far-spied arrow (as it might be) of an Amazon, but in such a manner, Pallas, as thou, and you, who sit appointed to make decision in this case, are now to hear. From a campaign, wherein, to loyal estimation, he had in the main made profitable purchase, she had welcomed him home. And then, in his passage through the water of purification, the end of his enterprise, she drew the tented curtain round; in the endless maze of a cunning robe she entangled him; and she hewed her husband down! Such, as I have told it you, was the death of that man, the majesty of the world, the emperor of the seas. As for that woman (*pointing as if to Clytemnestra actually visible*)—I have shown her as she was, to touch the hearts of this people, who are the appointed authority in this cause.

Here is the true note, and the only ground upon which a pleader for Orestes can advantageously stand. The abominable treason of Clytemnestra, violating at once and without scruple every tie, domestic, religious, or political, by which men hold together, as it is depicted in the previous plays and here recalled by dexterous allusions, may well seem to put her case beyond the pale of every consideration, however sacred or legitimate. The appeal, it is true, is made rather to popular instinct than to such justice as is administered by courts; and this Aeschylus perceived and has indicated.² But it is none the less a powerful appeal; and here or nowhere lies the substantial chance for Orestes.

We cannot but suppose, we are plainly intended to suppose, that upon this oration

Apollo would gladly have gone to judgment. But this, very naturally, the prosecutors will not allow. They are determined that he shall say something—nor is their demand unfair—about the defensibility of matricide as such, the issue which so far he has carefully and successfully shunned. And they get their way. They force his defences by an ingenious trap for his impetuous temper. The esteem for a father, they say, which Apollo has attributed to Zeus, is not evinced by the well-known fact that the same Zeus had put his own father in chains. The treatment of Cronos by Zeus was one of the disgraces of Greek theology, and is noted as such by critics like Plato. The Erinyes cite it here precisely as the less manageable parts of other Scriptures are brought up in controversy to-day. It is evident that they anticipate the reply, for they invite the jury—the jury in particular,³ for they disdain Apollo's large appeal to 'the people'—to observe it; and we may suspect that it was in substance a commonplace of apologetics. Apollo, however, suspects nothing. The affronted Olympian behaves, to say the truth, as all debaters more eloquent than cautious are apt to behave, when they are not at ease. He vilifies the questioners, as 'loathsome and detested monsters.' By way of answer, he insists on the difference between imprisoning and killing. The chains of Cronos might be taken off, but human blood, once spilt upon the earth, is beyond recall. Now his adversary has him. Just so; the blood is spilt for ever. And where then is the case for the matricide? How should he live, and where should he live, who has fouled the earth of his home with the blood of his own mother? The doctrine that earth is poisoned to the murderer (the sentence of Cain in our Scriptures) is laid down repeatedly in the *Choephoroi*, and represents at least, if nothing more, a deep and widespread moral instinct. It is the very foundation of the case against Orestes, and the prosecutors contend that their opponent has proved their case. We must admit at all events that he has made a false step, and is for the moment in a precarious position.

Thus brought to bay, Apollo, to regain

¹ By taking the life of Aegisthus. The aorist (πράξαντα τὸν πατὸς φόνον *v.* 624) is right, notwithstanding proposed corrections.

² Note λέως in *v.* 638.

³ ὕμᾱς, with emphasis, *v.* 643.

ground so far as possible, produces at last an argument upon the issue which he has so long and so wisely evaded—the question of blood-guilt. As is the way of disputants so situated, he demands credit for his frankness. ‘Observe how directly I shall meet you,’¹ says he to the opponent Erinyes—for not even now does he venture to invite either the jury or the general audience to scrutinise what he is about to propound. The jurors are naturally addressed by both sides throughout in the plural²; but this retort is aimed, and with reason, not at the judges, but singly at the adversary.³

The argument so produced is identical in substance, and almost in terms, with the principal argument offered by James Boswell, the biographer of Johnson,⁴ to his father Lord Auchinleck, when the old gentleman proposed to settle the family estate, in a certain event, upon heirs general (*i.e.* through male or through female), and not, as James desired, upon heirs male. ‘It is,’ said James, ‘the opinion of some distinguished naturalists, that our species is transmitted through males only, the female being all along no more than a *nidus* or nurse, as Mother Earth is to plants of every sort. . . . Consequently, a man’s grandson by a daughter has in reality no connection whatever with his blood,’—nor a son, as Apollo argues, with the blood of his mother. Who the ‘distinguished naturalists’ may be, we need not inquire, but their opinion is an almost literal translation from Aeschylus.⁵ Boswell thought it of ‘considerable weight,’ and fortified it, as he flattered himself, by a quotation from *Hebrews*.⁶

The coincidence between Boswell and Apollo is worth our attention; for nothing has done more to sway, and perhaps to strain, the interpretation of the *Eumenides* than the assumption that this extravagance

on the part of the Delphic advocate is proffered by Aeschylus as something solid and important. It may be true that there were then to be found in Athens, as there probably might be found anywhere and at all times, persons who shared the ‘zealous partiality’ of Boswell in favour of male descent, and who, in a matter touching their prejudices, were no more capable of reasoning than Boswell himself. It may be that, before the contemporary Areopagus, an advocate, hard enough pressed, would find it worth while to cover his tracks with such a speculation, and might thereby capture a wavering partisan. But the poet, it is plain, estimated the theory at its true worth, and expected from his audience a like perspicacity.

All controversies, if hot enough, are apt to hatch arguments of this description, arguments of which the sole purpose is to confuse the issue. For this purpose, nothing is so useful as an analogy. A mother does not transmit her blood, because, say Apollo and Boswell, the relation between her and her child is like that of the earth to the plant which grows in it. The sufficient answer, which could not escape any one cool enough to think and capable of thinking, is that, in the only point at issue, there is no likeness whatever. The mother does in fact transmit her blood to her child, whereas the earth does not in fact feed an oak with oak-sap. The argument assumes, in short, that the earth is a *plant*, and is exploded by the simple remark that it is not. Moreover any one, except the worthy James, might perceive—Lord Auchinleck for example did not fail, we may be sure, to perceive—that the analogy, if valid at all, would prove too much, and would recoil, as is the way of such engines, upon the artificer. If good for anything, it would show that the notion of *relationship*—that is to say, of special ties constituted between individuals by the link of parentage—has no foundation at all. It would destroy fatherhood no less than motherhood, and reduce all human relations—nay, all animal—to nonsense.

Aeschylus well knew this, and so does his Apollo. The theory, if trustworthy, would be decisive; and a disputant, who placed

¹ ὡς ὁρθῶς ἐρῶ, 657.

² 614, 643, etc.

³ μᾶθε 657, σοι 662.

⁴ Under date 1776. Vol. iii. p. 279 of the *Temple Classics* edition.

⁵ 658-661.

⁶ vii. 10. This reference, we may remark, involves a further *ignoratio elenchi*, and indeed the reasonings of Boswell are commonly composed of such.

any faith in it, would put it, as Boswell does, in the front of the battle, not hold it back, like Apollo, as long as he dares and possibly can. And if his way of approaching it is significant, not less so is his way of dropping it. Instead of dwelling on it, pressing it, expanding it, or simply pausing upon it and leaving it to sink in—he glides off it instantly into the remark, that a mother is after all no indispensable condition of fatherhood, as witness Athena herself, the child of Zeus, but not of any mother at all. This ‘proves,’ says Apollo, his previous point, that a man, who *has* a mother, is not the child of her blood. Manifestly it proves nothing of the sort; nor is Aeschylus chargeable, nor is Apollo, with really believing that it does. The orator is anxious only to escape somehow, as quickly as may be, from his perilous theory into the safer topic of a compliment to the president of the court.¹

Nor will he stop even here, but, working back through the president to the jury and the assembled city, boldly quits argument altogether, and enlarges upon the opportunity now offered to Athens, by his means, of securing, through Orestes, the permanent friendship of Argos.² This is a point which the court, if fit for its duties, could not consider and ought not to hear. The Areopagites of Athens, we are told, did in fact pride themselves upon their severity in repressing all suggestions extraneous to the case; and some will have it that we ought on this ground to reject, as not genuine, the divagation here attributed by Aeschylus to Apollo. But this criticism is perhaps Rhadamanthine in severity, if not rather Arcadian in its innocence. We see, from Areopagitic orations actually published and preserved, that human pleaders did in fact succeed, as might be expected, in insinuating such appeals under cover of an apology. If Apollo as a pleader disdains or neglects to apologise for his irrelevance, that also is only what we should expect.

What rather we should notice—it is perhaps, from a forensic point of view, the most remarkable turn in the proceedings—is the

vigour and promptness of Athena in defending, as president, the purity of the bench. To prevent Apollo from subjoining to his arguments, if he chose, a single sentence addressed to the interests, not to the judgment and conscience, of the jury, was manifestly impossible. The thing is done before it can be anticipated. What is possible Athena does. She forestalls any further excursions by instantly proposing to put the question, and this with an unmistakable hint, that the true limit may already have been exceeded: ‘May I *now* invite the jurors to give, *according to their opinion*, their votes *upon the justice of the cause*? May I take it that *enough* has been said?’³ Both sides acquiesce, but both contrive at the same time to put in a last word. The prosecutors are content with the present position of the argument—as indeed they have every reason to be—but intimate, by way of retort to the political bribery of Apollo, that they may have more to say hereafter: ‘I wait to hear how the issue will be judged.’ The threatening note is decorously muted in deference to Athena, but foreshows the explosion which ensues, when the defendant is finally discharged. Apollo, on the other hand, manages with great skill to accent, without repeating, his extraneous offers: ‘What ye have heard, ye have heard,’ says he to the jury, correcting his forensic attitude nevertheless by insisting upon their obligation ‘inwardly to respect their oaths.’

And so we are brought to the votes, feeling surely, as the result of the argument, not unthankful that others rather than we are to choose between the two. To the ultimate purpose of the drama this impression, and this only, is important. If we are thoroughly convinced that, whatever principles or forms of justice we may adopt, we must allow, as men, for the possibility of a case exactly balanced and therefore insoluble,—then we are ready for the Aeschylean development. Compared with this, what we think of Apollo, or even of Orestes, is matter, for the moment, of no moment at all.

A. W. VERRALL.

¹ 662-666.

² 667-673.

³ 674-675.

CHARACTER AND LANGUAGE OF THE ATHENIANS.

It is seldom that in a language we can find any direct or minute indications of the character of its speakers. Certain broad generalisations may doubtless be made. A vigorous people will generally possess a vigorous and well-developed language, corresponding to their physical and mental calibre, while the tongue of a barbarous and degraded tribe will probably give indications of similar linguistic degradation.

But when we come to examine languages more closely, it is generally impossible to find any clear or marked signs of the peoples who speak them, in any particular linguistic characteristics. This being so, the fact that in the Greek language there is a curious exception

to the general principle is the more remarkable, while the very rarity of the occurrence makes the phenomenon of peculiar interest.

The point to which I refer is this. *In the Greek language there has been a complete and radical degradation meaning in the case of all words connected with the idea of labour or toil*, a degradation which, so far as I am aware, is unparalleled in any other language. Whatever may be the explanation of this remarkable phenomenon, the fact itself will scarcely be disputed after examination, though its significance may possibly admit of diverse interpretations. The following table illustrates in a concrete form the phenomenon referred to:—

πόνος (toil) : adj. <i>πονηρός</i> (with degraded meaning, wicked)	
μόχθος (toil) : adj. <i>μοχθηρός</i> („ „ „ „)	
μόγος (toil) : adj. <i>μογερός</i> („ „ „ wretched)	
<i>πανοῦργος</i> (p. <i>πάν ἔργον</i>) (with degraded meaning, knavish)	
<i>ἄθλιος</i> (fr. <i>ἄθλον</i> contest) („ „ „ wretched)	
<i>τλήμων</i> (fr. <i>τλάω</i> endure) („ „ „ wretched)	
<i>σχέτλιος</i> (orig. meaning, ‘unflinching’) („ „ „ wretched)	
<i>φορτικός</i> (fr. <i>φέρω</i> bear) („ „ „ vulgar).	

It is impossible to read the classical authors of ancient Greece without noticing the frequent use of these words in their degraded signification; and there are one or two examples which are conspicuous above the rest. Thus in the *Antigone* of Sophocles (l. 74), *Antigone*—in signifying the fixed purpose to set the law of God above the law of man, and, notwithstanding Creon’s cruel edict, to give due burial rites to her brother, Polynices—uses the striking phrase *ὅσια πανουργήσασα*, where the degradation of the word *πανουργέω* is made particularly evident by the contrast with *ὅσια*. Again, in the *Vespae*, l. 466, Aristophanes uses the expression *πόνῳ πονηρός*, in the signification of utterly rascally, where the collocation of the noun *πόνος* from which the adjective is itself derived makes the degradation in meaning of that adjective all the more striking. Other examples might be found in abundance in the writings of any classical

author, and the question naturally arises, ‘To what causes is this unique and curious phenomenon due?’

In the first place, it should be observed that this constant degradation in meaning of words connected with the idea of toil or endurance is almost invariably found in Attic writers, the bulk of Greek literature being of Athenian origin. To what exact extent the usage prevailed in other parts of Greece it would be difficult to determine, but in any case it seems reasonable to suppose that, however wide-spread it may have been, it owed its origin to Athenian sources.

At first sight an obvious explanation of the phenomenon referred to might seem to lie in the actual construction of Athenian society at the time when Athens was at the zenith of her power. Besides the ordinary Athenian citizen, with his full rights of franchise and citizenship, Athens contained a large servile population, whose duty it was to

minister to the wants of their free masters and to remove from their leisure hours all necessity of sordid toil. The fact that all the menial tasks of the city were performed by an alien and a slave population might naturally to some extent cause a distaste for mere manual labour, and at the same time bring about an attitude of loathing and contempt for work that was the habitual and involuntary prerogative of the slave. But tempting as this explanation might seem at first sight, it seems doubtful whether it be sufficient to account for the facts, especially if we remember that an almost exactly similar state of circumstances prevailed in ancient Rome. As at Athens so at Rome the wants of the free-born citizens were ministered to by swarms of servile dependants, yet never even in Rome's most degraded days do we find any signs in the Latin language of doubts or aspersions being cast on the dignity of labour.

Even by the poets of the Empire manual labour was still regarded as a noble and an elevating pursuit. It is to the 'rusticorum mascula militum proles Sabellis docta ligonibus uersare glebus' that Horace looks for the soldiery who shall defend the rights and spread the name of Imperial Rome. And the heroes of Roman story, the names that were household words amongst the entire population, were men like Camillus and Cincinnatus, who left the plough to serve the State.

Again, notwithstanding the constant presence of a slave population in Rome, not only is there no sign or trace in the Latin language of any feeling of aversion to labour, but some of the noblest Latin words seem to point to a distinct tendency in the opposite direction. Compare such noble words as 'patientia' and 'perseverantia' with *πονηρός* and *ἄθλιος*, and the radical difference in tendency between the two languages is strikingly apparent. If to be subjected to toilsome endurance (*ἄθλον*) seemed to the Athenian to denote the unhappy man (*ἄθλιος*), to the Roman to go successfully through difficulties (*per severa*) still seemed the noblest perseverance (*perseverantia*). And the mere fact of a slave population having been indigenous in both cities is not

sufficient to account for a phenomenon which, while so conspicuous in the one language, is so conspicuous by its absence from the other.

It seems to me that the true explanation must lie, not in any outward circumstances, but in the actual character of the people. Of all nations that have ever attained to greatness, the story of the Athenian people is surely the most remarkable. Inhabiting a tiny domain, whose limits were scarcely larger than that of the small county of Lanarkshire, they nevertheless during a period of their career accomplished in every department of human activity such brilliant results as must for all time exercise an enduring influence on the character and civilisation of the human race. If we place the largest possible limits to that period, it cannot in any case be made to embrace a longer time than 150 years; for while 480 B.C. saw their rise to power with the brilliant naval victory of Salamis, the speech of Demosthenes *De Corona* in 330 B.C. may be regarded as the last dying cry of Athenian liberty. In that brief space the Athenians explored all the heights of human greatness. In war they defeated the formidable armaments of Asia, and by so doing rendered modern civilisation possible. In commerce they displayed unrivalled activity, and founded a system of banking which, largely copied by Rome, established the principles on which modern banking must for all time be based. In art, and especially in sculpture and architecture, they produced work which is alike the wonder and envy of the modern world. It is to them that nearly every branch of literature owes its origin. Tragedy and comedy, history and philosophy, are alike the productions of the wonderful genius of the Athenians; while the *De Corona*, the acknowledged masterpiece of oratorical effort, was given to the world from that same congenial soil.

But there must surely have been some radical and permanent flaw in the Athenian character to produce so sudden an eclipse in a marvellous and glorious career. The Athenian had every requisite and qualification of genius excepting the power of application, and this defect is clearly indicated in the

very language of the people by means of the phenomenon to which I have alluded.

Indeed, it is a curious and interesting fact that to some extent the Athenians seem to have recognised this tendency of their national character, and not to have regarded it as a defect. Two illustrations of this may be given from Thucydides. Thus in his celebrated oration, Bk. II. ch. 39, Pericles is made to say: 'καὶ ἐν ταῖς παιδείαις οἱ μὲν

ἐπιπόνῳ ἀσκήσει εὐθὺς νέοι ὄντες τὸ ἀνδρεῖον μετέρχονται, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀναιμένως διαιτώμενοι οὐδὲν ἥσσον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἰσπαλεῖς κινδύνους χωροῦμεν.' And again, in summarising the character of Themistocles (surely a typical Athenian), the historian says, Bk. I. ch. 138: 'καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν εἶπεν, φύσεως μὲν δυνάμει, μελέτης δὲ βραχύτητι, κράτιστος δὲ οὗτος αὐτοσχεδιάζειν τὰ δέοντα ἐγένετο.'

R. E. MACNAGHTEN.

THREE NOTES ON GREEK SEMASIOLOGY.

(1) WHEN substantives in -τρον properly denote the instrument of action of the verbs from which they are derived, why are μῆντρον and other substantives in -τρον used to express the money paid for performing the action? I believe the solution to be as follows.

The very common substantive λύτρον meant properly the instrument or means of loosing (λύσεως ὄργανον). But the means of loosing was a sum of money paid by the ransom to the captor (λύσεως μισθός); and this connotational meaning of the suffix in λύτρον—a word of vastly common occurrence, it should be insisted on, in the frequent wars of the Greeks—could easily give rise to such words as μῆντρον, meaning, not μηνύσεως ὄργανον, but μηνύσεως μισθός.

(2) A second matter of semasiology that I would notice here is the connotational meaning of the adjectives in -ικός, which frequently mean, not pertaining to such and such a person or thing, but skilled in something. This secondary meaning was, I believe, reflected, so to say, upon these adjectives from their very common sub-

stantivised form. The whole process may be simply and clearly put in the following scheme involving two adjectives in -ικός of the same form, but with a difference of meaning: ἱατρός medicus, ἱατρικός medicinus, ἱατρική (τέχνη) medicina (ars), ἱατρικός medicinae peritus.

(3) The third point that I would call attention to here, is the secondary meaning of certain verbs in -ίζειν—a meaning which explains the disparaging force that we meet with in some verbs in -ίζειν. This is due to a latent reflexive pronoun. Thus λακωνίζειν is not to make another a Laconian but to make oneself a Laconian, to imitate or ape the Laconians. In the same way, it would appear, σοφίζειν, which properly and ordinarily meant to make another σοφός, could be used in the sense of making oneself σοφός, of aping the σοφοί. It is thus, I think (pace Platonis in Protagora), that we are to explain the good and bad senses of σοφιστής, 'teacher' (= διδάσκαλος) and 'charlatan' (= τῶν σοφῶν μιμητής).

MORTIMER LAMSON EARLE.

NOTES

ON HORACE SATIRES I. III. 7.

IT has apparently never been noticed that 'Io Bacchae' supplies a suitable method of voice-training. Modern teachers practise on 'ha,' 'ha-e-i,' 'ho-a-e-a-o.' Properly pronounced the Latin gives something very

similar. It is accidental to Tigellius' purpose that the words occur in Euripides. It is doubtless merely a coincidence, but it is an interesting coincidence, that the Gnostic word of power 'Iao' in the Pistis Sophia

appears in the neighbourhood of such passages as σὺ μὲν ἀπὸ πομπυμοῦ τυγχάνεις, οὗτος δὲ ἐξ ἡχοῦς (Abbott's *Joh. Gram.* § 2667). If this suggestion is correct, the

reading may be 'Bacche' as in most MSS., unless we suppose 'ae' had by Horace's time taken on its later sound, or that the singer practised the diphthong. T. NICKLIN.

A NOTE ON THE *EUMENIDES*.

AESCH. *Eum.* 334-5.

τοῦτο γὰρ λάχος διαταΐα
μοῦρ' ἐπέκλωσεν ἐμπέδως ἔχειν,

διαταΐα, as used normally of *blows*, means

'unswerving': it is here, then, equivalent to ἄτροπος. Therefore we have in three consecutive words a reference to the names of the *Three Fates*—Lachesis, Atropos, Clotho.

RACHEL EVELYN (WHITE) WEDD.

A REMINISCENCE OF AESCHYLUS IN PLATO, *REPUBLIC* III. 406?

AESCH. *Prom. Vinct.* ll. 747-751 (Io speaks).

τί δῆτ' ἐμοὶ ξὴν κέρδος, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν τάχει
ἔρριψ' ἐμαυτὴν τῆςδ' ἀπὸ στύφλου πέτρας.
ὅπως πέδοι σκήψασα τῶν πάντων πόνων
ἀπηλλάγην; κρεῖσσον γὰρ εἰσάπαξ θανεῖν
ἢ τὰς ἀπάσας ἡμέρας πάσχειν κακῶς.

In *Republic* iii. 406 Socrates pokes gentle fun at Herodicus the trainer, who originated the valetudinarian school of medicine and practised his methods on himself. Μακρόν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, τὸν θάνατον αὐτῷ ποιήσας . . . οὔτε ἰάσασθαι, οἶμαι, οἷός τ' ἦν ἐαυτόν, ἐν ἀσχολίᾳ τε πάντων ἰατρεινόμενος διὰ βίου ἔξῃ, ἀποκναιόμενος εἴ τι τῆς εἰωθινῆς διαίτης ἐκβαίῃ δυσθανατῶν δὲ ὑπὸ σοφίας ἐς γῆρας ἀφίκετο. But the artisan has no use for these methods, if he received such a prescription ταχὺ εἶπεν ὅτι οὐ σχολὴ κάμνειν οὐδὲ λυσιτελεῖ οὕτῳ ξὴν . . . ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἱκανὸν ᾖ τὸ σῶμα ὑπειρεγκεῖν, τελευτήσας πραγμάτων ἀπηλλάγῃ.

The δημιουργός and Io, unlike as they are

in other respects, hold the same view that death is better than a miserable life. And they express it in almost the same words:

Aesch. τί . . . ξὴν κέρδος, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν τάχει . . .

Plato. ταχὺ εἶπεν . . . οὐδὲ λυσιτελεῖ οὕτῳ ξὴν.

Aesch. τῶν πάντων πόνων
ἀπηλλάγην

Plato. τελευτήσας πραγμάτων ἀπηλλάγῃ.

Aesch. τὰς ἀπάσας ἡμέρας πάσχειν κακῶς.

Plato. μακρόν . . τὸν θάνατον αὐτῷ ποιήσας . .
διὰ βίου ἔξῃ, ἀποκναιόμενος.

Plato often gives a mock-heroic touch to his satire by an allusion to Homeric or Aeschylean legend. (Cp. the quotations in 406a and 408a—close to this passage—also 380a (from Aeschylus) 381d *et passim*.) Is it not possible that here his satire takes the form of parody, introducing tags from Aeschylus as familiar to the Athenian reader as (say) 'To be or not to be' would be to the English one?

M. E. HIRST.

NEWS AND COMMENTS.

IN the course of this month Mr. Murray will publish for the Classical Association a book called *The Progress of Classical Studies*, which gives in small compass an account of the work done in all departments in 1905-6.

This is intended to enable those who are engaged in teaching to keep abreast of modern discovery, and those who have any special interest will find in it a guide to further study in their own lines. The book

consists of articles written by recognised authorities. The following is the list of contents: Excavation, Greek (R. M. Dawkins), Italian (T. Ashby), Prehistoric Archaeology (J. L. Myres), Sculpture and other Arts (E. A. Gardner), Coins (G. Macdonald), Mythology and Religion, Greek (L. R. Farnell), Roman (W. Warde Fowler), Private Antiquities (W. C. F. Anderson), the Greek Warship (*id.*), Greek Inscriptions (M. N. Tod), Roman, and Roman Britain, (F. Haverfield), Greek History (M. O. B. Caspari), Roman (L. E. Matthaëi), Comparative Philology (P. Giles), Grammar (E. A. Sonnenschein), Textual Criticism and Palaeography (W. M. Lindsay), Papyri (A. S. Hunt), Literature (J. E. Sandys). Mr. S. H. Butcher, M.P., will contribute an introduction.

The current number of *Mnemosyne* contains a complete list of the writings of G. G. Cobet, the famous Dutch critic. It has been compiled by Professor Naber at the suggestion, as we understand, of Mr. Herbert Richards. It should prove of great service to scholars.

The Reform of Latin Pronunciation is one of the questions of the hour. Within the last month it has engaged the attention of three important educational bodies, the Head Masters' Conference, the Head Masters'

Association, and the Assistant Masters' Association. A leaflet containing the scheme of reform has been published for the Oxford and Cambridge Philological Societies by the Cambridge Press. The third edition of Professors Arnold and Conway's 'Pronunciation of Greek and Latin,' and a pamphlet by Dr. Postgate on Latin Pronunciation (Bell and Sons), are also announced.

Our readers will not have forgotten the sudden and untimely death of Prof. M. L. Earle, one of whose last contributions to learning is printed in our present issue. A fund (by which Mrs. Earle will benefit) is being raised for the purpose of purchasing his valuable library of over 2000 books and presenting it to Columbia University. Subscriptions to the 'Earle Memorial Library Fund' may be sent to Mr. George J. Bayles, 208 Fifth Avenue, New York.

We are glad to note that, thanks mainly to the strenuous exertions of Professor Howard Murray of Halifax, the system of higher education in Nova Scotia is likely to be much improved. The new scheme approved by the Provincial Educational Association last autumn will secure the study of languages and especially of Latin being put in a better position than it has yet enjoyed in the schools of Nova Scotia.

REVIEWS

LANG'S HOMER AND HIS AGE.

Homer and his Age. By ANDREW LANG.
Longmans, 1906. Pp. 335. 12s. 6d.

MR. LANG continues to deserve well of Homer. Since the far-distant 'Butcher and Lang' which charmed our undergraduate days—with its ram on the cover and strange notes at the end, we have had a portion of the *Iliad*, the *Hymns*, with notes, the brilliant 'Homer and the Epic' (1893); and now this book is given us. The two 'Homers,' Epic and Age, are the best work in English on

the subject, and, along with portions of Mr. Monro's Appendix to the *Odyssey* 13–24, contain the real gospel of Homer. The sixth form masters of our larger public schools would do well to commit them to memory, and instead of teaching bad prose, dictate them in lengths to their charges. Mr. Lang plays from a very strong hand. The first English man of letters, he deals with the ordinary philologist like an amiable cat with a mouse: he possesses, so far as I can tell, an accurate knowledge of Greek

archaeology, and his well-known authority upon Red and Black men enables him to trump with Algonquin or missionary as required. Moreover, he is at home among the French, German, and Scandinavian epe, subjects which Homerists, as Mr. Lang says, neglect, to their shame. He declares himself no grammarian, but he handles the linguistic evidence at least as well as his opponents. *εἴ μὲν τις δόρυ θηξάσθω* then who thinks to meet him on the field.

His aim in this book is to prove that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are the picture of a single period of civilisation, and he takes the reader through Homer's politics, burial-system, armour, use of metals, and house. To my mind he proves his case; but as my acquaintance with the monuments of Cnossus and Mycenae is not at first hand, I should but be abounding in his sense if I criticised his account. I will leave this field to the expert who I understand has been retained to curse.

Such an attempt—to prove Homer the picture and the product of one short period of history—is salutary at this moment. We are at present under the spell of the 'stratum.' As in old days the diaseuast scared us, and then again the Fickian transcriber, now it is layers we see, with delirious accuracy. Reichel, Robert, Erhardt, Noack, have all found them; even the author of a most useful account of Minoan civilisation (*Church Quarterly Review*, lxi. p. 414) ends his article with the words, 'Homeric civilisation is like Homeric language; as the one was never spoken, so the other was never lived, by any one society.' Let us hope this dictum is not essential to the writer's view of the Aegean. The reader may take it for more than probable that as the Homeric language is that of pre-Dorian Greece, when, as Pausanias says (ii. 37. 2), the Argives spoke the same language as the Athenians, so his history is the history of the heroic age, and his civilisation that which he saw with his own eyes. 'And the additions,' some one will say; 'the small type and the brackets?' The real additions were of the nature of gag; for a long time the public acquiesced in the dictum

ἱητρὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἀντάξιός ἄλλων

but eventually this *διάνοια* ceased to bite:

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the audiences did not hear it, perhaps doubted it; so the rhapsode, with his finger on their pulse, added:

ἰούς τ' ἐκτάμνειν ἐπὶ τ' ἥπια φάρμακα πάσσειν.

These complements, or paddings, have their parallel in tragedy. The Alexandrians were able to detect such; when they tried their hand on a larger scale they failed. It may seem strange that learned specialists should have failed. They were Greeks, and it might have been thought that their instinct about Homer would be as sound as that of an educated Englishman about Shakespeare. (This at least is the best that can be said for them.) Fortunately, however, tradition has preserved not only the Alexandrians' atheteses but their reasons for them. These show that their criteria were the same mixture of puerility and pedantry which we find later in Plutarch, and in the learned generally till our own day. They failed completely to realise the conditions of the heroic and post-heroic age: like our own friends who are shocked at the leather caps of the Doloneia, they were shocked at Athena lighting Odysseus round his hall (*δοῦλοπρεπὲς καὶ λίαν εὐτελές*), or at Hesiod telling the story of his voyage to Chalcis (*οὐδὲν ἔχοντα χρηστόν*).¹ Language, then: surely language detects stages? It is one thing to collect facts, another to interpret them. Two considerations cover ninety per cent. of late language in Homer: (a) the loss of all first-hand Greek between Homer and Theognis, except the few thousand lines of Hesiod and the Hymns, *plus* the scanty sixth century inscriptions; (b) the surface-change of transmission. We have not sufficient evidence to fix the date of novelties in Greek; we know what we find in Homer and what we find in tragedy, but when what we find in tragedy began we have no means of telling. It is only yesterday that Mr. Monro tumbled the 'Aeolic' Homer into its limbo. We have now to be on our guard principally against the grammar of the china-shop. I proceed to notice a few topics pertaining to the Homeric question. The part played by Pisistratus is in great need of clearing up.

¹ Diodorus i. 12 will not have *γλαυκῶπις* mean blue-eyed: *τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ εὐηθὲς ὑπάρχειν*.

We distinguish I. (a) the real tradition, (b) the consequences therefrom; II. the mythological tradition. The real tradition, first in the Pseudoplato, is of his ordinance at the Panathenaea, a simple police measure which there is no reason to doubt nor to expect earlier testimony for. Were Herodotus and Thucydides to descend to such details? It is unfortunate that the epigraphic evidence is almost *nil* (*C.I.A.* ii. pt. 1, Nos. 965-970). The consequences which result from the ordinance were, it used to be believed, that the rhapsodiae were then first arranged in order. It is now generally admitted that if any conclusion can be drawn, it is that the lays were already in order, and Pisistratus recalled the rhapsodes to their book. The mythological tradition about Pisistratus is that he put the rhapsodies together into an epos, and that he inserted certain verses of political importance. The former belief is decisively negatived by the Cycle. The Cycle may be confidently given its traditional date 750-700 B.C., the age of Cynaethus of Chios and Magnes of Smyrna: Arctinus rests on Artemon the chronologer of Clazomenae, and Lesches on Phantias the peripatetic. These poems posit the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and of the compass in which we now have them; the Cypria went up to the opening of A, the Aethiopis altered the last line of Ω to effect a junction (as the *Ἡοῖαι* were fastened on to the *Theogony*), the *Telegonia* took up the story of Odysseus where ω stops. The poems were complete two centuries before Pisistratus. As to his tampering therewith—in itself improbable, for the mere fact of an appeal to Homer shows that the text was considered beyond attack—sufficient attention has not, I believe, been paid to the source of the statements. Pisistratus is credited with adding B 558, λ 631 and writing *Γονόεσσαν* for *Δονόεσσαν* in B 573. The writers who tell these stories quote as a rule the same set of authorities. Plutarch, *Theseus* 10 οἱ Μεγαρόθεν συγγραφεῖς, 20 and 32 Heras of Megara, *Solon* 10 he is less precise, (οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ — αὐτοὶ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι); Strabo 394 οἱ μὲν δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι —, οἱ δὲ Μεγαρεῖς ἀντιπαρῳδῆσαι οὕτως [δοκοῦσιν]; Diog. Laert. i. 2 Dieuchidas ἐν γ' Μεγαρικῶν. Paus. vii. 26 gives no authority. It is plain that these

statements represent the *Megarian case*; the Megarian antiquarians, eager, as they claimed comedy, to win their country a place in the heroic age, were met by the adverse verdict of the Catalogue. So, like Reichel or any modern archaeologist, they declared the passages which they could not explain spurious. Pisistratus undertook the character of forger, an embodied *τῆς*.¹ The Megarians actually succeeded in keeping the line out of some MSS.; that is, the story, which pleased the late classical world, had this effect; but there is no trace in the MSS. of their substitute (their *ἀντιπαρῳδία*, as Strabo says). But the prize is taken in this department by the theory (modern) that Nestor and his speeches were introduced into Homer, in the sixth century, to compliment Pisistratus. Mr. Lang bastes and roasts the upholders of this idea very agreeably. No doubt Mr. Lang's explanation, a Dugald Dalgetty *ἦθος*, goes a long way; but I think the passages were inserted to give the audience more history. The artist who chose the two incidents, Achilles' wrath and Odysseus' return, gave them every now and again peeps into the past: hence the tales of Meleager, Phoenix, Heracles, and the *Nekyia* generally.

Mr. Lang's analysis of Agamemnon's character is excellent, as is his parallel between Agamemnon and Achilles and Charlemagne and Roland. In both cases poetry has given the semi-independent knight his prominence in the imagination of the world. History sees either suzerain as he was. I do not, however, quite follow Mr. Lang in his disentanglement of Agamemnon's dream in B. Thinking Agamemnon's faith in his dream is weak, Mr. Lang wishes to introduce a pair of lines between B 40 and 41 to say so. I see no signs of disbelief in the dream. In order to carry it out, Agamemnon invents the curious procedure 72-5—that is, he puts himself up to oppose the policy

¹ I regret that in the Oxford *Iliad* on B 558 it is said, 'Ar. videtur non legisse.' The reverse is the case: he athetised it, and you cannot athetise what you do not read. I have collected the evidence, *C.R.* 1901, p. 9. Aristarchus athetised the verse, not on the strength of the Megarian statement, but because it disagreed with other passages (διὰ τὸ πολλὰ τῶν ἑπῶν ἀντιπαρτρύειν αὐτοῖς, as Strabo says). Aristarchus was quite wrong, as Mr. Lang says, p. 46.

of the dream, and the other princes to support it. Why he did this we are not told: I presume he distrusted the feelings of the people (which directly after found expression in Thersites), and thought a proposal coming from him of renewing hostilities would excite mutiny. He therefore, in a tortuous and diffident way, proposed himself the contrary of what he wanted; and the result exceeded his expectations. I will say nothing about Armour: too many living people are compromised in Reichel's extraordinary theory. I thought Mr. Ridgeway had killed it, but it is never too late *κύνα δέρειν δεδαρμένην*, when the cur is of this breed. Mr. Lang's dichotomy of the metals—bronze for weapons and armour, iron for implements—seems satisfactory, and relieves us from translating *χαλκός* as 'iron,' which was a difficulty in Mr. Ridgeway's view. The chapter on the House is interesting; Noack's *strata* are well though easily refuted. The Icelandic bed-chamber boarded off from the hall is a striking idea. I may note that *μυχός* in the Heracleian tables¹ is a technical word, so in Homer it may be wrong to translate it 'nook.' Like *ἡίεος*, *ὄδος*, and *κόβαλος* (the last of course not in Homer), it may have had a specific sense.

The Doloneia shows Mr. Lang at his best. I will not add a word to his exposition. The two chapters on Comparative Literature are very valuable: the parallel which Mr. Lang establishes between the French *jongleurs* and the rhapsodes is most remarkable. He says with absolute truth that all the Greek conditions were present in France save the great poet. I regard also as of great importance the demonstration that the Homeric poems were handed down in writing; not in copies read by the general public, but in 'books' the private property of each rhapsode. The question of writing, as everyone knows, has entirely changed of late. There is no age known to us at which it can be denied to have existed.² Mr. Lang makes the parallel

¹ I. G. Sicil. et Ital. No. 645. I. v. 138 *οικοδομησται δε και οικιαν εν τοις χωροις τουτοις, βωανα, μυχον, αχυριον· τον μεν βωανα το μεν μακος Φικατι και δυων ποδων, το δε ευρος οκτω και δεκα ποδων· τον δε μυχον πεντε και δεκα ποδων πανται.*

² If it is necessary to prove a 'reading public' in the sixth century it is not difficult: Plato *Critias*

between Jendeus de Brie bequeathing his copy to his son and the story of the Cypria serving as a dowry. Jendeus too sang in the same island as Cynaethus, Sicily. The legend how Lycurgus brought the poem 'as a cargo from Ionia' (Aelian) agrees.

Enough: we thank Mr. Lang for adventuring into the den and fighting the professors. My only fear is that his wrist-play is so delicate the public may not realise that they are dead.

T. W. ALLEN.

Homer and his Age by Andrew Lang gives a promise of some delightful reading. We image to ourselves a picturesque book, somewhat like Monsieur Bérard's, but drawing its illustrations rather from anthropology than from geography. Nor should we be altogether wrong. Anthropology is here in its widest range, and we move freely and lightly among Red Indians with Mycenaean 'tower' shields, Tasmanians who bury their dead by eating them, and Highlanders who illustrate most things, but not least that the Laird of Runraurie used imported swords but home-made spades at the Battle of Killiecrankie. Mr. Lang, too, has a dexterous and airy way of stating a complicated argument, and the 'Enfin' with which he heralds his conclusions is symbol of the fact that *his* sword at least, whatever that of his Homeric heroes, is a rapier for thrusting, and not the broadsword of some of our controversial scholars. Controversy is conducted by Mr. Lang with the greatest fairness and good humour, and is a model of what learned controversy should be. His opponents are turned inside out, and their arguments covered with ridicule, but it is ridicule which takes the other side into one's confidence, in the best style of Punch's political cartoons. No one is expected to infer that *ὁ* or *ἡ δέωα* is either a knave or a fool.

Controversy, however, the book is from cover to cover, and it must be confessed that it

113 B καὶ ταῦτά γε δὴ τὰ γράμματα παρὰ τῷ πάππῳ τ' ἦν καὶ ἔτ' ἐστὶ παρ' ἐμοὶ νῦν (Solon's poems). Critias' grandfather must have gone back past 500 B.C.

might have been a little compressed. Would Mr. Andrew Lang in the days of his youth, before he had the public at his feet, have taken such liberties with it, as he has, say, in his chapter on *Bronze and Iron*? After eighteen pages we find in the body of the text 'These pages had been written before my attention was directed to Monsieur Bérard's book'; then comes a page dealing with Bérard: this apparently suggests three pages on Cauer's *Grundfragen*, that again five on Helbig's *La Question Mycénienne*, as it was only Helbig's other work, *Das Homerische Epos*, that had been used in the earlier part of the chapter. Finally on the 27th page of the chapter, still in the body of the text, we read 'After writing this chapter I observed that my opinion had been anticipated by S. H. Naber.' We are hardly surprised that before this extraordinary chapter can close, we have five pages more of an argument with Professor Ridgeway. This is not literature, but an argumentative note-book.

Happily, although Mr. Lang repeats his points, he does not modify them. His general argument is clear and forcibly stated. Homer lives at a given moment of culture, and the archaeology of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* reflects that one moment. Swords are still of bronze, but implements have begun to be of iron. Shields are still of the Mycenaean size, but plated with bronze to meet bronze-tipped arrows and bronze-pointed spears; bronze cuirasses and greaves are used, but of a light kind; the dead are cremated, and a cairn is raised over their ashes. Everywhere, except where he consciously introduces

'masts of the beaten gold
and sails of taffetie,'

the poet describes the manners, customs, weapons, art of his own day.

It is impossible in the space of a review to discuss fully the archaeological arguments on which these conclusions are based. Many of Mr. Lang's separate points are good and needed making. Mr. Lang is quite right in protesting that even in the bloom of Mycenaean art, neither shield nor dress nor cut of hair is uniform (p. 84). It cannot,

however, be asserted off-hand that this means difference of date, as Mr. Lang seems to think. In the Late Minoan I Seventeenth Century black steatite 'Harvester' vase from Hagia Triada,¹ the principal figure, whether he be farmer, king, or admiral, has the heavy flowing locks of which Mr. Lang talks, while his followers are either close-shaven or have their hair uncommonly closely bunched up under their flat caps. The same is true of the two principal figures in the Chieftain vase of the same date and provenance.² Such differences in the manner of wearing the hair may be due, not to date, but to race or rank. It is unfortunate in this connexion that Mr. Lang, while contrasting the regular ashlar masonry of the besieged city on the silver cup from Mycenae, with the irregular building of 'most Mycenaean walls,' seems to have overlooked the regular masonry of the Palaces at Knossos and Phaestos.

If, however, we find a long development and startling contrasts in what used to be considered the uniform culture of Mycenae, there are contrasts and combinations equally strange in that shadowy sub-Mycenaean early iron age that begins in the last phases of Late Minoan III. Cataclysmic theories, that separated the Bronze Mycenaean and the Iron Geometric ages by a gulf, and fought with each other as to which side of it they should place the Homeric Achaeans have long been out of favour with younger archaeologists. The Tholos tomb at Kavousi to which Mr. Lang alludes (p. 207), with its iron swords, iron tools, and bronze spear-heads can now be paralleled by the Tholos tombs found by Miss H. A. Boyd (now Mrs. C. H. Hawes) at 'Thunder Hill' near the same site.³ Here, in company with vases of Mycenaean shape, but decoration that is more Geometric than Mycenaean, a short iron

¹ *Monumenti Antichi dei Lincei*, xiii. 1903, Plates I., II., III. By the kindness of Professor Halbherr I am enabled to reproduce this interesting vase in a book under the title *The Discoveries in Crete and their bearing on the History of Ancient Civilization*, which Mr. John Murray is publishing for me early this spring.

² Described, but, unfortunately, not illustrated in *Rendiconti dei Lincei*, xii. 1903, Fasc. 7 and 8. p. 324.

³ *American Journal of Archaeology*, v. 1901, pp. 128-137, Figs. 2 and 3.

sword, about 18 inches long, bronze fibulae, and bronze bracelets were found among uncremated skeletons. At Milatos, too, on the north coast of Crete, 25 miles east of Knossos, a chamber tomb discovered by Mr. Evans in 1899 has now been fully described by him in his 'Prehistoric tombs at Knossos.'¹ On the end of a painted sarcophagus in this tomb there is figured what is clearly a great Mycenaean body shield, although not of the usual figure of eight shape. It is almost certain that this sarcophagus dates from the same interment as a late false-necked vase, the shape and design of which is similar to those of a vase found in another chamber tomb in company with two late short bronze swords, and a pair of bronze fibulae like those found in Miss Boyd's tomb at 'Thunder Hill.'² It seems as if we had here a long shield coming down to sub-Minoan days in Crete, though the possibility of the figure that bears it being a god and not a man suggests that we may be dealing with a religious survival. Again in the tomb at Muliana in East Crete in which the two above mentioned bronze swords were found, we have the curious phenomenon that they and the other objects of the first burial interment are found side by side with the cinerary urn and iron weapons of a cremation interment. The earlier remains are not plundered or destroyed, but simply placed together on one side, so that unless we are to assume an unusual amount of reverence in an invading foreigner, we have here an example of iron succeeding bronze, and cremation succeeding burial in the same race, and probably in the same family.³ All this may be taken by Mr. Lang in support of his thesis, and we grant that it is conceivable that a given poet at the close of the bronze

and the beginning of the iron age may have had the exact archaeological equations that are demanded by the 'Homeric moment of culture,' presented to him as the sum total of his individual experience. It must, however, be respectfully pointed out that the evidence, so far as it goes, does not tend in this direction. There are no exact equations, but rather in-and-out combinations of the most divers sorts. They may be excellent arguments against any mechanical theory of stratification, which rejects as spurious all that does not tally with the bloom of Mycenae, or against late dating that assigns a considerable portion of the poems to days when even decadent Mycenae was a thing of the past. They have no sting for the many of us who believe that all but the merest fringe of the story of our poems was expressed in Greek hexameters before the end of the sub-Mycenaean early iron age, and yet think several great poets more probable than one great poet, and evolution more probable than creation by a single act. From our point of view the fact that in these late times bronze and iron weapons are both found, and in the oddest combination, throws light on that twice repeated phrase in the *Odyssey*,⁴ which is inexplicable on the theory that the swords and spears of the 'moment' were all of bronze, and that Homer always 'means what he says.' That 'iron does of itself attract a man' is not a good reason for putting out of his way those very weapons⁵ that are later called bronze by a poet who 'means what he says.' The amusing thing is that the phrase seems so conclusive to Professor Ridgeway, who stands at Mr. Lang's right hand to keep the bridge of Unity, that it is one of the main props of his view that the swords and spears of the 'moment' are not of bronze at all, but of iron.⁶ Mr. Lang on the other hand—How are the mighty fallen—takes shelter in the hosts of the Athetizers, and rejects the two lines as 'a very late addition' (pp. 193, 203). Is there no 'baffling residuum' (p. 129) even in *his* theory?

¹ Quaritch, 1906, pp. 93-103 (= *Archaeologia*, Vol. lix). The sarcophagus (Fig. 107, p. 99) had previously been figured by Mr. Evans in *J.H.S.* xxi. p. 174, (Fig. 50). It is wrongly referred to by Mr. Lang on p. 85 as *J.H.S.* xvi. The reference on p. 84 should also be to *J.H.S.* xxi., not xvi., and on p. 146 to *J.H.S.* xix. not xx.

² *Prehistoric Tombs*, pp. 102, 112, 131, 132.

³ *Prehistoric Tombs*, pp. 112, 134. On Cremation Dr. Dörpfeld has written an article in *Mélanges Nicole*, 1905, pp. 95 *seq.* that is both suggestive and interesting, although not as yet supported by much evidence.

⁴ *Od.* xvi. 294; xix. 13: αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐφέλκεται ἀνδρᾶ σίδηρος.

⁵ *Od.* xxii. 125.

⁶ *Early Age of Greece*, pp. 294, 306.

All that these in-and-out combinations really point to is that the over-lapping here and there in actual fact of the old stages of culture with the new prevented the younger generation of poets from seeing any difficulty in the epithets and descriptions that they inherited from their predecessors. Of course they did not consciously archaize: Mr. Lang has no difficulty in disposing of those who think they did. They wrote exactly what came natural to them, and, whether they were writing new episodes, or embroidering on the old, they constantly introduced the manners and weapons of their own age. None the less, and here Mr. Lang's criticisms miss their mark, it was often natural for them to leave unaltered what they inherited, and to create the new on the model of the old. Sometimes, as we have already suggested, the fact that there was a difference at all between old and new escaped observation. In other cases epithets and combinations of words and whole incidents were so stamped and fixed by tradition that it would have needed more critical analysis to change than to preserve. The Palace of Alkinoos, the Shield of Achilles, were no mere imaginings of the early iron age, its masts of gold and sails of taffetie; nor had its poets ever seen the realities. Such things take us back clear behind even the earliest phases of transition, to the great days of Knossos and Mycenae, the Late Minoan I and II of the 17th to the 15th century. Whether or no their glories were put into verse by their makers, in Greek or any other language, we cannot tell. We may be sure at least that the first Greek poems they inspired were sung by men who knew, and saw them; who had walked the palaces, if not as their masters, at least as mercenaries or freebooters. Yet the twelfth or eleventh century bard attached his metal greaves quite cheerfully and naturally to the old-world description of Achilles' armour. It is just so with Shakespeare when he writes Julius Caesar with North's Plutarch in front of him. He accepts, as a fixed part of the story, the Feast of the Lupercalia, and the Ides of March, and the cremation of Caesar's body, all utterly alien to his own time; but he slides gaily into 'The eternal devil,' and 'the clock hath stricken three' and 'My

heart is in the coffin there with Caesar.'¹ If North had written in verse, and that in verse as good as his prose, Shakespeare would doubtless have stuck closer to his text, even closer than he did in *Coriolanus*,² and given us more that was Roman, and less that was Elizabethan. Inconsistent, however, he still would have been, and it is strange irony that Mr. Lang, who in his *Homer and the Epic* did so much to convince us that inconsistencies in story or plot are not impossible for a single poet, should spend a great part of this book in denying that a poet can be inconsistent in the matter of manners and customs.

With all its limitations, which are indeed obvious, Shakespeare and North is a better analogy than Lönnrot and the Kalewala. Some thousands of years hence, when Julius Caesar is preserved, and North is not, when little is known about England, and less about Rome, the Mr. Lang of the age will argue that the striking of a clock on the Ides of March, and the presence of the Devil at the Lupercalia are best explained by a single moment of culture. He will play off against each other with great success those Tasmanian critics who profess to be able to decompose the perfect whole and resolve it into its original elements. He will at the same time triumphantly reassure his brother Conservatives, who wish to enjoy their Shakespeare undisturbed, by pointing out that all poets and most school-boys (p. 26) feel the 'unus color' of that work of equally unquestionable single authorship, The Book of Common Prayer.

Evolution is much harder to believe in than creation at a single act, harder for most people, not only for poets or school-boys; and critics who believe in evolution are tempted to try to prove their point by excavating for the truncated tail, and lay themselves open to facile chastisement. Let us be grateful to Mr. Lang for the chastisement, and remember, nous autres, that it was

¹ Cf. Act I. Sc. 2, l. 159, with *ib.* ll. 1-10. Act II. Sc. 1, l. 192, with Act I. Sc. 2, l. 18, etc. Act III. Sc. 2, l. 104 with *ib.* l. 253. The Folio Reading 'fifteen' in Act II. Sc. 1, l. 59 may possibly point to misunderstanding as to the date of the Ides. Cf. *ib.* l. 40 with l. 87.

² See esp. Act IV. Sc. 5, ll. 60 *seq.*

not he, but Wolf himself, the first higher critic of Homer since the Alexandrians, who said¹ 'Perhaps it will never be possible to show, even with probability, the precise points at which new filaments or dependencies

¹ Praefatio? ad? xxviii. See also *Prolegomena*, p. viii. and a letter to Bekker, quoted in Ludwig's *Aristarch's Homerische Textkritik*, vol. ii. p. 230.

of the texture begin.' The fact that it is impossible to decompose is what we should expect: it does not render a whit less probable the theory of evolution.

RONALD M. BURROWS.

Cardiff.

RUTILIUS, THE LAST OF THE PAGANS.

Cl. Rutilius Namatianus. Édition critique accompagnée d'une Traduction française et d'un Index et suivie d'une Étude historique et littéraire sur l'Œuvre et l'Auteur. Par J. VESSEREAU, professeur agrégé au Lycée de Poitiers, docteur ès lettres. Pp. xxii + 443. Paris: Fontemoing, 1904. Fr. 10.

Est aliquid quocumque loco quocumque recessu | unius dominum sese fecisse lacertae. And so M. Vessereau who has to share with Messrs. Südhof and Ellis the scars and scoriae of the *Aetna* (646 hexameters), may at least congratulate himself that by this volume of 465 large octavo pages he has established rights not lightly to be disputed in the 356 couplets of Rutilius. It may seem strange that M. Vessereau's plan did not include a commentary; but everything else is provided—bibliography, Latin text with critical apparatus, French translation, Index Verborum, and, following these, prolegomena on the work and the author to a sum of 350 pages. In addition M. Vessereau promises special studies on 'the most serious difficulties' in the text.

The work on which all this labour has been lavished is the expiring effort of pagan Rome. In the autumn of the year 416 of the Christian era Claudius Rutilius Namatianus, a landowner of Gaul who had filled the offices of *magister officiorum* and *praefectus urbis* at Rome, was recalled to his native land by the imperative necessity of repairing the damages which his ancestral estates had suffered from the devastating progress of the barbarians. Overland travel was im-

practicable; so the return journey had to be made by sea. Of this voyage he wrote a description in two books of elegiac verse, of which the first and a fragment of the second have come down to us. His work deserves more attention than its length and date would seem to warrant—more too than the ordinary classical scholar condescends to accord. It was composed in the very death-throes of the Western Empire. Britain and Armorica were lost; Gaul and Spain, overrun with savage hordes, were wasted and depopulated; Italy reduced to such a pass by the Gothic invasion that the most extraordinary measures were required to alleviate the universal distress. The haughty metropolis itself had been captured—captured more than once—and abandoned to pillage while the successor of Augustus Trajan and Constantine fed his chickens behind the impassable marshes of Ravenna. Was this the hour to write the most elaborate panegyric of Rome that has come down to us—to pen such lines as these on the capital of the empire 'upon which the sun never set'?—

exaudi, regina tui pulcherrima mundi
inter sidereos Roma recepta polos.

uoluitur ipse tibi qui continet omnia Phoebus
eque tuis ortos in tua condit equos.
quantum uitalis Natura tetendit in axes
tantum uirtuti peruia terra tuae.

(47 sqq.)

This it might have been thought was written in some strange spirit of irony or perversity. But it was not. The origin of these untimely transports is to be sought in

the blindness of the bureaucrat and the magic of 'the name of Rome.'

To Rutilius with his historical reminiscences here the lines which Lucan uses of Fortune before the battle of Pharsalia may be almost literally applied :

munera longi

explicat eripiens ævi populosque ducesque
constituit campis *per quos tibi, Roma, ruenti
ostendat quam magna cadas.*

(*Phars.* 7. 418 sq.)

The ancient edifice of the Roman system had long been tottering to its base. The genius of one man alone had sustained it, and it is he who with Jews and monks is singled out as the object of the ex-præfect's bitterest invective. The father-in-law of the Emperor, the conqueror of Alaric at Pollentia and at Verona, of Radagaisus round the beleaguered walls of Florence, is charged with meditating a matricide more heinous than that of Nero by betraying his mother country to the Goths. It is added in aggravation of his offence that he first rendered her defenceless by his destruction of the Sibylline books.¹ Though the facts of the fall of Stilicho are obscure, we shall not go far wrong in assevering that the first charge is as improbable as the second is unsupported. The position of the Roman government was such that to come to terms with Alaric was a prime necessity; and it is not surprising if the convention had to include a payment of treasure, little palatable to Roman pride. The minister fell a victim to his own incaution in dealing with a palace intrigue; and the denunciations of the ex-official Rutilius are nothing but an echo of the court.

Rutilius, like his more distinguished contemporary the unfortunate panegyrist of Stilicho, the 'prægloriosissimus poeta' Claudian, was a pagan pure and simple; and we may note as a curious circumstance that the two last writers of heathen verse of any pretensions were connected with a court by which the ancient worship was avowedly proscribed. The anti-Christian sympathies of Rutilius could naturally find no expression among the officers of the son of

Theodosius; but no such reticence need be practised as regards the monastic orders. His gorge rises as he passes the island of Capraria, where the holy men swarmed like beetles—

squalet *lucifugis insula plena uiris.*

(440)

To Rutilius, both as Roman and political philosopher, the self-repression, the squalor, and above all the anti-social character of monasticism were utterly repugnant, and he does not hesitate to stigmatize it as a death-in-life.

aduersus scopulus damni monumenta recentis:
perditus hic uiuo funere ciuis erat.

noster enim nuper iuuenis maioribus amplis
nec censu inferior coniugioque minor

impulsus furiis homines terrasque reliquit
et turpem latebram credulus exul agit.

infelix putat illuuiæ caelestia pasci

seque premit laesis saeuior ipse deis.

non, rogo, deterior Circaeis secta uenenis?

tunc mutabantur corpora, nunc animi.

(517-526.)

His hatred of Judaism is still more deep-seated, and its intensity is shown by its significant attachment to trifles. The hardness of his style, upon which I shall remark below, is curiously in keeping with his attitude towards a race whose intercourse with the Gentiles has never failed to discover the flinty regions of the human heart.

The voyager had landed at Faleria and was enjoying the congenial spectacle of a village festival to Osiris, when he chanced to trespass on the grounds of a Jewish factor, who at once demanded monetary satisfaction: for the disturbance of the shrubs: for the trampling of the sea-weed; for the water that had filled the traveller's pipkin.

sed male pensauit requiem stationis amoenæ
hospite conductor durior Antiphate.

namque loci querulus curam Iudæus agebat
humanis animal dissociatæ cibis:²

uexatos frutices, pulsatas imputat algas,

damnaque libatæ grandia clamat aquae.

(381 sqq.)

² To appreciate the contumely of this expression it must be remembered that in it the pork-hater is disadvantageously contrasted with the pig—that *animal propter conuiuia natum*.

¹ ii. 52. The burning of the books was most likely accidental.

Rutilius replied, and in the vernacular. Nowhere in his poem does the uncouthness of the fifth century show so clearly under the thin classical veneer.

reddimus obscenae conuicia debita genti
 quae genitale caput propudiosa metit.
 radix stultitiae cui frigida sabbata cordi
 sed cor frigidius religione suo.
 septima quaeque dies turpi damnata ueterno
 tamquam lassati mollis imago dei.

It should be added here that Rutilius, as M. Vessereau says, could love as well as hate. His digressions are by no means all unamiable. His tributes to his friends Rufius (167 *sqq.*, 417 *sqq.*), Victorinus (493 *sqq.*), and Protadius (542 *sqq.*) are pleasant to read in themselves and do honour to their writer.

The delineation of the character of Rutilius hardly concerns us here. Suffice it to say that it is not easy to find in him the paladin whom M. Vessereau constructs from data too slender and by too uncritical a method. Still we may at the least credit him with a love of exalted, if inaccessible, ideals, and with the possession of the Roman dignity and constancy for whose exercise the conditions of his times afforded only too ample a field.

For the historical student of language and style Rutilius has a curious, if somewhat melancholy, interest. He belongs emphatically to what a reviewer of the new *Corpus Poetarum; Latinorum*, condensing into a phrase my judgments in the preface to the fifth fascicule, has termed the 'post-mortem' writers. What Mr. Duff in his Juvenal (p. x) has said of classical literature, that it came to an end with the satirist's death, is true above all of its poetry. Here to sharp eyes the *rigor mortis* is everywhere apparent.

Claudian alone, thanks to his wonderful literary perception, presents a semblance of the living antiquity. Of Ausonius we need say nothing: he hardly pretends to be classical. Rutilius had far greater natural talents, and what he writes is at least arresting. His disregard (conscious or unconscious, matters not) of genuine Latinity wears the air of defiance. His semi-classical diction and metre affront us with a brazen glibness.

But he does not deceive. We feel that with him we are on the road that leads on the one hand to the jingling antitheses of the monkish versifier, and on the other to the weird jargon of the *Hisperica Famina*. Open his pages where you like, you will strike at once on this rigidity.

interior medias sinus inuitatus in aedes
 instabilem fixis aera nescit aquis,
 qualis in Euboicis captiua natatibus unda
 sustinet alterno brachia lenta sono.
 (245 *sqq.*)

abscondat tristem deleta iniuria casum:
 contemptus solidet uulnera clausa dolor.
 (119 *sq.*)

huc proprios nuper tutata est insula saltus
 siue loci ingenio seu domini genio.
 (327 *sq.*)

partimur trepidum per opuscula bina ruborem
 quem satius fuerat sustinuisse semel.
 (ii. 9 *sq.*)

When trees become timber, commerce looks to their girth and height rather than to their shape or graceful swaying, and so Rutilius judges of the words that are to make the lengths of his verses. What a tale do these sky-scrapers tell!

cuius *Aremoricæ* pater *Exuperantius* oras
 nunc *postliminium* pacis amare docet.
 (213 *sq.*)

molibus *aequoreum* concluditur *amphitheatrum*.
 (239.)

substitimus. quis enim sub *tempestate*
 maligna
insanituris audeat ire fretis? (619 *sq.*)

Above all a pentameter which would gladden the schoolboy who has to produce his tale of metrical bricks:

sic nimiae bilis morbum adsignauit
 Homerus
Bellerophonteis sollicitudinibus! (450.)

Even into descriptions where grace and lightness are required intrude these hectoring polysyllables:

intransemque cupit *discedentemque* moratur
 postibus affixum dulce poema sacris.
 (269 *sq.*)

And here is the couplet in which the gentle bull woos Europa across the seas :

qualis,¹ *Agenorei* rapturus gaudia furti
per freta,¹ *uirgineum sollicitauit* onus.

(261 *sq.*)

For the readers of such writers the first requisite is a running commentary, to show what meaning the latter intended, we cannot say expressed, in the words and phrases they have commandeered. Free or loose paraphrase, such as M. Vessereau's translations, can never fill its place.

progredimur paruis per litora proxima cymbis
quarum perfugio crebra pateret humus.

(219 *sq.*)

The pentameter jars on our ideas of classical expression. And analysis shows that Rutilius has used *perfugium*, 'a refuge,' as a verbal like *effugium*, 'escaping' and that *humus* is to be taken not as 'ground,' 'soil,' but as 'terra firma,' 'shore.' Let this be realised, and M. Vessereau's translation can be fitted to Rutilius' Latin :

Nous avançons le long des rivages
voisins sur de petites barques capables de
se réfugier dans les nombreuses échan-
cures de la côte.

In 250 it cannot. Here

nec mora difficilis milibus ire tribus

is rendered :

Il me prend envie de connaître les
thermes qui ont emprunté leur nom à un
taureau. Ce n'est *ni long ni difficile* ; il faut
aller à trois milles.

Rutilius means that the time which it takes to walk three miles is no great sacrifice. But instead of writing *facilis mora*, which might be supported by Virgil's *facilis iactura*, he has puzzled readers and translators by substituting *nec difficilis*, as though this meant the same.

Rutilius' use of *praeda* at 613, 'sed non Lucillum Briareia praeda fefellit,' is somewhat forced, it is true, but it has classical warrant. For *praeda*, 'pillaging,' see my note in *Silua Maniliana*, p. 38. But

M. Vessereau's version is misleading : 'Mais Lucillus n'a pas fermé les yeux sur ces profits dignes de Briarée.'

One of the signs of decadent Latin is the misuse of the reflexive pronouns, personal and possessive. M. Vessereau (p. 384) says of Rutilius, 'Il emploie irrégulièrement le possessif pour le démonstratif,' and cites 14, 390, 537, 554. In 14, 'nec putat externos quos decet esse suos,' and 537, 'sed procera suo praetexitur alga profundo,' *suus* is no demonstrative but a strained reflexive. In the other two places it may be contended that it is merely the equivalent of *eorum* or *eius*.

Of M. Vessereau's text I find it impossible to speak highly. A number of ill-judged alterations of L. Mueller and Baehrens, e.g. 81, '*perpetuo—motu*,' are now relegated to the notes. So in 187-8, 'occidua infido dum saeuit gurgite Plias | dumque procelloso temporis ira calet,' where the MS. *cadit* is right. Here is a zeugmatic use of *dum*, 'till—while,' which recalls that of *donec* in Stat. *Silu.* iv. 1. 160 *sq.* (see *C.R.* xx. p. 322), where, however, the change of mood makes the zeugma easier. But a number of ancient corruptions have also been replaced in the text : 91-92, 'quod regnas minus est quam quod regnare mereris ; | excedis factis grandia *facta* tuis,' *facta* the old edd. and the vulgate ; 341 *sqq.*, 'hic ego tranquillae uolui succedere ripae ; | sed nautas audios longius ire sequor. | sic *festinantem* uentusque diesque reliquit ; | nec proferre pedem nec reuocare licet,' *festinantes* Schrader, the world in general and M. Vessereau's translation : 'Dans cette course précipitée, le vent et le jour nous quittent à la fois.' The editor adventures on a change of text in ii. 62, 'sed diverticulo [so he spells] fuimus fortasse loquaces ; | carmine *praeposito* iam repetamus iter.' '*praeposito* scripsi ego scil. carmine quo "diverticuli" instar, laudata Italia, inuictus est in Stilichonem : "rendons sa place à notre poème et reprenons notre route"' (trans.). Whether *proposito* should be changed to *propositum* is a matter for grammar to decide ; but M. Vessereau will assuredly have no followers in preferring the compound with *prae*.

¹ I have added the commas to show that *per freta* goes with *rapturus*. M. Vessereau takes it with *sollicitauit*.

His punctuation makes confusion of
543 sq.,

quem qui forte uelit certis cognoscere signis
uirtutis speciem corde uidente petat,

translated: 'J'eus à cœur d'aller voir Protadius. Quiconque voudrait le reconnaître à des signes certains n'a qu'à se figurer, avec les yeux de l'âme l'image de la vertu.' But *cognoscere* governs *uirtutis speciem*, not *quem*, which is the accusative after *petat*. The sense is that anyone who would see Virtue personified should seek her in the presence of Protadius.

No attention has been paid to orthography. Corrupt or inferior spellings are adopted with the late MSS., now our only stay, and even against them. Thus we have *arctatam*, *connectere*, *dirigit*, *irreperere*, *moestus*, *pene*, *secula*, *trophea*, etc.

The critical apparatus gives in its first section the readings of two descendants of the lost Bobiensis, V the well-known Vienna MS. which has been studied by Prof. H.

Schenkl and the Romanus, a manuscript belonging to the Duke di Sermoneta collated by Dr. Hosius (*Rheinisches Museum*, 1896). Two of its readings, *paciferoque* for V's *pacificoque* (words frequently confused), in 80, and *externus*, for V's *aeternus*, in 109, are taken into the text, the last against the sense. In another story are lodged the copious conjectures and variants on the text. Their value is that of an indiscriminate collection.

By far the largest part of the book is, as we have seen, taken up with disquisitions on the history, friends, style, grammar, metre, and so forth of Rutilius; and in them its general character is maintained. That character may be summed up thus. It gives us enough, and to spare, of what has been thought and written on Rutilius, but not enough on what Rutilius thought and wrote himself.

J. P. POSTGATE.

MUNRO'S TRANSLATIONS INTO GREEK AND LATIN VERSE.

Translations into Greek and Latin Verse.

By H. A. J. MUNRO. With a Prefatory Note by J. D. DUFF and a Portrait. Pp. xi + 113. London: Edward Arnold, 1906. 6s. net.

MR. DUFF continues his pious service to the *manes* of Munro. The present work is a reprint, with two additions and a few not unauthorised corrections, of an anthology privately printed and distributed twenty-three years ago. Eighty-three pieces are included, of length varying from two lines to five pages. The longest is the celebrated version of Gray's *Elegy*, whose appearance was the occasion of a lively though almost forgotten controversy between the author and a critic in *Macmillan's Review* for 1875 who had complained of the harshness and obscurity of Munro's elegiacs. The reply must have made the assailant repent of his temerity; but it may be allowed that Munro impelled by logic and temperament was often rough and

masterful in the use of language and metre. When, however, in the editor's words, 'he is inspired by his English,' the result is not unseldom fine and even flawless verse. Witness the renderings of Deborah's song into Latin glyconics, of the proem to the *De Natura* into Greek hexameters, and of Tennyson's *Beggar Maid* into Latin elegiacs. In a short and gracefully written preface Mr. Duff gives some interesting facts about this side of Munro's activity. We may add another. Munro one day happened to meet a classical scholar of his college, now an acknowledged authority in his own department, whose Latin elegiacs were then the envy of his undergraduate contemporaries, and for whom Munro had a particular affection, and said, 'Now, you must translate Gray's *Elegy* for me.' The task was essayed; but the version stuck at the end of the first eight lines. Some time afterwards Munro met the defaulter, and in his shy way said 'As you would not translate the *Elegy* for me, I have

had to do it for you,' at the same time giving him the daintily printed pamphlet in its blue wrapper.

The book is adorned by a frontispiece in

a reproduction of what is admittedly one of the two best photographs ever taken of Munro.

J. P. P.

KNOKE ON ARISTOTLE'S CONCEPTION OF TRAGEDY.

Begriff der Tragödie nach Aristoteles. Von Prof. Dr. F. KNOKE. Weidmann, 1906. Pp. 83. M. 2.

ANYONE interested in the question should certainly acquaint himself with Dr. Knoke's pamphlet. The central point of his contention is the nearly, though not absolutely, new idea that in the well-known definition a comma should be placed after δι' ἐλέου καὶ φόβου, cutting those words off altogether from περαίνουσα κ.τ.λ. He holds that the definition is in a way complete at μορίοις and that what follows contains certain explanations, (which are really additions, though he does not recognise this quite explicitly enough). Thus δρώντων καὶ οὐ δι' ἀπαγγελίας further defines and limits μίμησις πράξεως, a phrase equally applicable to epic. Then δι' ἐλέου καὶ φόβου further defines σπονδαίας, and διὰ here does not signify *by means of* but rather *in the way of, consisting in*, etc. (cf. *Pol.* 1341 b 24): pity and fear constitute the σπονδή. In the same way περαίνουσα τὴν τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων (pity and fear only) κάθαρσιν carries a little further the sense of τελείαν, because, if I understand Dr. Knoke, not only is the action complete in the sense of really coming to the end of a story, but the feelings it has aroused are quieted again by the time the end is reached. Our feeling for Ajax, for instance, is quieted by the final recognition in the play of his great

qualities and deserts. Dr. Knoke would not call this exactly a moral completeness, and I agree with him, because not moral effect but pleasure, moral or otherwise, is what Aristotle requires. It may however be called an aesthetic and emotional completeness.

This is evidently a theory of the κάθαρσις that will have to be carefully considered. I have only given the gist. The working of it out in the pamphlet involves much lucid and skilful argument and examination of theories, all of it very well worth study, including the criticism of the favourite Bernaysian explanation, with which I for one have never been satisfied. To mention two minor matters: I do not see why Dr. Knoke considers that τελείας μέγεθος ἐχούσης distinguishes tragedy from epic; and still less how ἡδυσμένῳ λόγῳ distinguishes it from comedy, since ἡδ λ., which Aristotle himself explains not as covering the diction but as referring to metre and music only, certainly applies to comedy too. It is surely the word σπονδαίας with the mention of pity and fear that excludes comedy. I would also strongly commend to him Prof. Margoliouth's emendation of πρᾶττοντας καὶ δρώντας to πρᾶττοντες καὶ δρώντες in *3.* 1448 a 27 (cf. 1449 b 23 and 32, and 1450 a 22) as much better than making δρώντας mean specifically dramatic action.

H. RICHARDS.

SHORT NOTICES

Epitaphes. Textes choisis et commentaires publiés par FRÉDÉRIC PLESSIS. Paris: Albert Fontemoing. Pp. lx + 305. Fr. 4.50.

EXCEPT for the bad binding and heavy paper, we have nothing but praise for this book.

The commentary gives just the kind of help required, the type is beautiful, and the whole will delight those scholars who cannot afford the heavy price of the collections of Latin inscriptions.

The Greek War of Independence, being a Greek Text for Beginners. By CHARLES D. CHAMBERS. London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co., 1906. Pp. x+204. 3s.

An excellent idea, well carried out, in spite of some doubtful points of scholarship. The plan adopted is that of Prof. Sonnenschein's *Ora Maritima*: a historical story (and one of importance) is retold in simple Greek, the chapters being progressive in difficulty. The vocabulary and phrasing are modelled on Thucydides. Grammar and vocabulary are added.

The Philoctetes of Sophocles. Abridged from the larger edition of Sir RICHARD JEBB by E. S. SHUCKBURGH, Litt.D. Cambridge: University Press, 1906. Pp. xliii+228. 4s.

We suppose this abridgment is intended to reduce the price of the original for the benefit of schoolboys. Certainly any pupil who is advanced enough to profit by this book had much better study the original. It is not at all suited for school work: it contains too much in one direction and too little in another.

A History of Classical Scholarship from the Sixth Century B.C. to the End of the Middle Ages. By JOHN EDWIN SANDYS, Litt.D. Cambridge: University Press, 1906. Pp. xxiv+702. 10s. 6d. net.

That a second edition of Dr. Sandys' learned work should be called for so soon proves that he has supplied a real want. All scholars will look forward to the publication of the concluding volume.

VERSION

LIFE is mostly froth and bubble,

Two things stand like stone,

Kindness in another's trouble,

Courage in your own.

ADAM LINDSAY GORDON.

Πομφόλυνγας τὰ πλείστα λέγω βίον ἀνδρὶ
τετύχθαι,

ἔμπεδα δ' ὡς πέτρῃ χρήματα δοῦναι μένει·

ἦν ἕτερός τι πονῇ, φιλικῶς μέμνησο βοηθεῖν,

· ἦν τ' αὐτός, κραδίῃ τλήμονι καρτερεῖν.

R. C. SEATON

ARCHAEOLOGY

MONTHLY RECORD.

GREECE.

Argos.—The principal results of excavations between June and September last year were as follows. Some hundred yards N. of the ancient theatre is a polygonal wall, above which are the remains of a Roman structure in brick. The terrace supported by the wall has been completely cleared, with the result that the foundations of a small temple in tufa have been discovered. The Roman building proves to have contained reservoirs in connection with an aqueduct. The headless statue of the builder of this aqueduct has been discovered. S. of the modern town the foundations of a prostyle temple in calcareous stone have been brought to light. Here were found several

inscribed *stelai*, including a fragment of a fifth century B.C. treaty made at Argos between the Cretan towns of Knossos and Kylissos, and a decree of the third century B.C. in honour of the Rhodians, who had lent 100 talents to the Argives to enable them to repair the walls of the town and to reorganize their cavalry.¹

AFRICA.

Bulla Regia.—The most interesting object recently discovered is a circular collar in the form of a narrow band of lead. This is inscribed on the exterior as follows:

ADVLTERA MERETRIX TENE
QVIA FVGIVI DE BVLLA R(e)G(ia).²

¹ *Acad. des Inscr.* Oct. 1906.

² *Ibid.* Aug. 1906.

FRANCE.

Alesia.—The excavation of a small temple, situated between the theatre and what is probably the forum, has been commenced. Several fragments of a Celtic inscription in Greek letters, a bas-relief representing Jupiter between Minerva and Juno, a torso of an Amazon, and a fine bronze relief representing a dead Gaul have been found.¹

ASIA MINOR.

Alabanda.—The 1905 excavations yielded (1) capitals and other architectural fragments belonging to the Ionic order. (2) Three new slabs belonging to the frieze representing a combat of Greeks and Amazons (see *Class. Rev.* Feb. 1906). They are very much mutilated. (3) A series of architectural fragments of the Ionic order, probably belonging to a small altar. (4) Fragments belonging to a building of the Doric order, among which is the drum of a column with the following inscription :

Θεοῖς Σεβαστοῖς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι Ἰσοτίμῳ καὶ
τῷ Δῖμῳ, Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Ἀπέλλου υἱὸς
Κυρίνα Νάπης ἐπανυλαμένον, στεφανηφοροῦν-
τος Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἀπέλλου Νάπου, ὑπὲρ τε
ἐαυτοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ Ἀπέλλου τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ
Ἀπέλλου Νάπου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, Κλαύδιος Νάπης
ὁ κονψὺς ἐτελίωσεν καὶ ἀποκατέστησεν.¹

F. H. MARSHALL.

The following account of Roman discoveries in Manchester is abridged from a letter in *The Times* of January 13:—

Excavations now being conducted on a site in the centre of Manchester by the local branch of the Classical Association have already yielded results of more than local importance. The plot of land in question has never been occupied by any buildings since Roman times. Observers like Whittaker in

1771 and Corbett in 1849, when some scanty traces of the Roman fortifications could still be traced among the mounds and hollows of a waste grassy meadow, had placed the western wall of the Roman camp of Mancunium at varying distances from Duke Street, which bounds the site on the east; and our present search was directed in the first instance to locating this rampart precisely. Corbett's notes pointed to its being found just inside our enclosure; but the stone remains uncovered there by Mr. Bruton about four feet below the present surface proved to be those of a building at least fourteen feet wide. On this were found well-preserved portions of a beautiful 'Samian' vase from Lezoux (130–200 A.D.). Another set of foundations ten feet further west again disappointed—and delighted—us by proving to be not the wall but the base of another building. But some twenty feet further west there was found the base of a rampart, a breadth of some six feet of Roman concrete about two and a half feet deep, imposed on the characteristic stratum of boulder stones imbedded in puddled clay, about eighteen inches deep; beneath that about a foot of solid clay spread over the natural gravel. A large number of squared blocks of sandstone, clearly taken from the wall, had been found a little above the concrete, though not *in situ*. Just inside the rampart in the sand and gravel which represent the Roman surface, were found two coins, one of Geta (211–212 A.D.) the other of the mother of Geta and his murderer Caracalla, Julia Domna, the wife of Septimius Severus, struck sometime between his accession (193 A.D.) and his death at York in 211.

Among other interesting finds may be mentioned a perfect grindstone, of a pattern not yet recorded, and several well-worn floor tiles. It is clear that Mancunium was a camp containing rows of permanent stone buildings.

¹ *Ibid.* Aug. 1906.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Publishers and Authors forwarding Books for review or asked to send at the same time a note of the price.

The size of Books is given in inches: 4 inches = 10 centimetres (roughly). They are unbound unless the binding is specified.

**.* Excerpts and Extracts from Periodicals and Collections are not included in these lists unless stated to be separately published.*

- Agasilas*, see *Lindskog* (C.).
- American Philological Association*. Transactions and Proceedings of the A. P. A. 1905. Volume XXXVI. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 238 + cviii. Boston (Mass.), Ginn & Co. 1906.
- Andocides*. Orationes edidit Fridericus Blass, editio tertia correctior. (*Bibl. Script. Gr. et Rom. Teub.*) 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. xxii + 124. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1906. M. 1.40.
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- Anthologia Graeca epigrammatum Palatina cum Planudea* edidit Hugo Stadtmueller. Volumen III, Pars prior, Palatinae libri IX, Epp. 1-563, Planudeae LI continens. (*Bibl. Script. Gr. et Rom. Teub.*) 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. vi + 584. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1906. M. 8.
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- (Das) *Athener Nationalmuseum*. Phototypische Wiedergabe seiner Schätze mit erläuterndem Text von J. N. Svoronos. Deutsche Ausgabe, besorgt von Dr. W. Barth. Heft 5. 6. 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 135 + 182. Plates XI, LX. Verlag von Beck & Barth, Athen. 1906. M. 14.40.
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- Bacha* (Eugène), see *Tacitus*.
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- Barth* (Dr. W.), see *Athener Nationalmuseum*.
- Bigg* (Charles), see *Aurelius Antoninus*.
- Blass* (F.), see *Andocides*.
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- Bridge* (R. T.), see *Martial*.
- Caesar*. C. Julii Caesaris Commentarii de Bello Civili erklärt von Friedrich Kraner und Friedrich Hofmann. Elfte, vollständig umgearbeitete Auflage von Dr. Heinrich Meusel. (*Sammlung Gr. und Latein Schriftsteller, mit deutschen Anmerkungen begr. von M. Haupt und H. Sauppe.*) 8" x 5". Pp. xvi + 376, mit 5 Karten. Berlin, Weidmann. 1906. M. 3.40.
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- Cosensa* (Mario E.), see *Païs* (Ettore).
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- Fox* (Herbert F.), see *Westminster Versions*.
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- Goffaux* (G. F.), see *Story of Robinson Crusoe in Latin*.
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ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

QUINTILIAN, PLUTARCH, AND THE EARLY HUMANISTS.

AMONG the *Moral Treatises* of Plutarch there is included a work on education of disputed authenticity, called *περὶ παιδων ἀγωγῆς*, containing few, if any, original remarks; and, being without any pretensions to literary beauty, it is now but little studied. Nevertheless in the history of culture it has played a part, the importance of which is as great as it is unrecognised.¹ From this source the Italian Humanists drew much of their inspiration: its influence helped in no slight degree to form those ideals, which, when carried to England, became part and parcel of our school life. It will surely be useful to trace the relation of this book to the social environment of which it is the expression, and to see why it was that the Humanists turned to it instinctively as the embodiment of their best aspirations.

A short analysis will be necessary. The importance of honourable birth, and of a natural and healthy procreation (I A-2 A).

There are three components in the formation of moral character, *φύσις*, *λόγος* and *ἔθος*.

¹ 'The importance of this translation (Guarino's translation of *περὶ παιδων ἀγωγῆς*, 1411 A.D.) in the development of the humanist ideal of education can hardly be over-estimated. . . . The new sense of the dignity of the educated man, of the status of the teacher, of the breadth of the educational aim, which mark Vittorino, Aeneas Sylvius, and M. Vegius, were found there for the first time.'—WOODWARD, *Vittorino da Feltre*, p. 25.

The two latter are more clearly defined as *μάθησις* and *ἄσκησις*. Any deficiency in these constituents results in a 'lame' virtue. But nevertheless *μάθησις* and *μελέτη* can, to a great extent, supply a remedy for the shortcomings of *φύσις*. Several analogies are given (3 c).

The next section deals with *τροφή*, 'rearing.' The mother, unless hindered by physical weakness, should nurse her children herself. This course tends to increase affection. Nurses (*τίτθαι*, *τροφοί*), if employed, should be of good character and trained in Greek habits and customs. The young slaves, who will be the boy's companions, and minister to his wants, must be of good Greek character and speakers of good Greek. The tutor (*παιδαγωγός*) is not to be, as is usually the case, a worthless slave, but one *σπουδαῖος τὴν φύσιν* (4 b).

Teachers must be upright and experienced, for 'proper education is the source and root of nobleness.' Some fathers are so foolish as to choose a teacher under the influence of flattery, or a desire to confer a favour. Socrates was right in thinking that more pains should be spent upon the education of a son than upon amassing a fortune for him. Cheap education is a delusion and a snare. Neglect of mental and moral education results in immoral living (5 c).

Good training and right education are the

best of goods—better than good-birth, wealth, reputation, beauty, health and strength—and contribute largely to virtue and happiness. The training of the mind (*νοῦς*) and of speech (*λόγος*), the expression of mind, gives man a possession which no earthly mischance can take away. Witness the answer of Socrates to Gorgias (6 A).

The necessity of sincere and considered speech. Flattery and off-hand talk (*οἱ αὐτοσχέδιοι τῶν λόγων*) must be carefully avoided. The need of *σκέψις* illustrated by stories of Pericles and Demosthenes. Speaking on the spur of the moment is the privilege of men of experience. But some attempt should be made to secure a good style, just as the body should be not only healthy but in good condition (*εὐεκτικόν*). (7 C).

A liberal education includes all the usual subjects of the curriculum, but the position of honour belongs to philosophy, to which all the rest are subordinate. Philosophy teaches what is right and what is wrong, guides her votary in all the relations of life, and, the most important benefit of all, inculcates moderation and self-control in prosperity and misfortune. But the philosophic life must not be divorced from the practical life. The two should be combined, as they were by Pericles and other ancient worthies. The use of books is the great source of learning (8 B).

The body needs care, both for the sake of physical beauty, and also to secure health and strength. But exercise must not interfere with intellectual culture. Warlike exercises and hunting are useful, and preferable to 'athletics' (8 E).

The course outlined above presupposes wealth, but even the poor should copy it as far as they can (8 F). Exhortation is better

than corporal punishment, but praise should not be excessive (9 A). Fathers must not force their sons' education. Relaxation is essential. Fathers should supervise the work of the teacher (9 D). Importance of memory, 'the treasury of learning' (9 F). Sons must be clean-mouthed, affable, sportsman-like in accepting defeat, capable of controlling their passions and their tongue. Historical examples. Truth is noble, falsehood slavish (11 C). Are lovers to be allowed? Doubt expressed, with a leaning towards Platonic love (12 A). The training of young men is as important as that of boys, because the passions become imperious at that age. Hope of honour and fear of punishment are the ABC of virtue (12 D). The dangers of bad company. Cryptic utterances of Pythagoras illustrating this and other common-place morality. The company of flatterers is especially to be avoided (13 F). Fathers should learn to temper severity with mercy, remembering that they too were once young. It is sometimes the best plan to pretend not to see faults (13 F). The incontinent should be made to marry, but the bride ought to be of the same station as her husband (14 A). Fathers should so live as to be an example to their sons. The Illyrian woman Eurydice was a good instance of the power of the parent for good, even in the face of natural disadvantages (14 C).

Before discussing the ethical and educational standpoint of this treatise, it will be well to state the chief authorities from whom the writer derived inspiration.

Euripides, Diogenes, Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Phocylides, Aristippus, Stilpo, Demosthenes, Bion, Archytas, Hesiod, Aristophanes, Sotades are all mentioned by name.

There are also the following unacknowledged references or reminiscences.

GREEK AUTHORS.

The constituents of virtue. 2 A-E.

2 F-3 A.

8 A.

7 A.

8 D. Just before this passage stress is laid upon warlike exercises and hunting, as opposed to gymnastic. This is Xenophonic.

9 D.

14 B.

8 A.

In many places reminiscent of Aristotle *Ethics* B.

Aristotle *Ethics* *ii init.*

Aristotle *Ethics* A. 1095b.

Xenophon *Mem.* Δ. vi. 13.

Xenophon *Cyrop.* B. iii. 2.

Xenophon *Oecon.* xii. 20.

Plato *Lysis* 729 C.

Thucydides ii. 40.

LATIN AUTHORS.

2 D.
13 D.
4 C. S F.
4 B.
4 F.
S F-9 A.
9 E.
12 B, C.

Lucretius i. 312.
Lucretius i. 936.
Quintilian II. ii. 5.
Quintilian II. iii. 12.
Quintilian II. iii.
Quintilian I. iii. 14; Quintilian II. ii. 9.
Quintilian XI. ii. 1.
Quintilian II. i. 1-4.

The connection between the treatise *περὶ παίδων ἀγωγῆς* and Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* is much closer than can be proved by mere quotation. Both writers in discussing the environment of the young child lay stress upon the influence of parents (the mother being particularly mentioned), nurses, slaves, and 'tutors.'¹ Both insist upon the necessity of skilful, high-principled teachers.²

Quintilian's work is, of course, chiefly occupied with the best means of acquiring eloquence. The other treatise does not aim at producing orators, and yet the cultivation of artistic speech is strongly recommended. But the Greek writer does not always agree with his predecessor. He condemns at some length the practice of making boys declaim to a large audience, and is especially adverse to extempore speaking.³ This is evidently in direct opposition to Quintilian's view, for the Roman teacher insists upon the importance of being able to speak at a moment's notice.⁴ It is just possible that the condemnation of public speaking for boys is a reminiscence of Quintilian II. i., where the schoolmaster is bidden to confine himself to his own province *grammaticæ*, and to leave *rhetoricæ* to the *rhetor*, but the probability is that the Greek writer disapproved of rhetoric as an instrument of a liberal education.

The above comparison has been made, not so much with a view to tracing the doctrines and sentiments of the *περὶ παίδων ἀγωγῆς* to their historical source, as to show that the writer was an eclectic of thoroughly catholic taste, and therefore a fit guide for the Humanists, whose aim it was to reproduce the more permanent ideals of ancient thought. The writer was a Greek, but a

Greek under strong Roman influences. Although he displays everywhere characteristically Greek views of life, would have nurses *πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς ἡθεσιν Ἑλληνίδας* and household slaves to speak *Ἑλληνικά*⁵ and be untainted by barbarian customs,⁶ although he believes it wise to live in one city,⁷ and would cultivate the body for the sake of physical beauty,⁸ he is quite⁹ free from Greek prejudices, and from those tastes and modes of feeling which were transient because only possible in transient stages of civilisation.

The treatise is evidently the product of an age when Greek institutions had passed away, yet previous to the time when the morality fostered by those institutions ceased to be attractive to the human heart. A combination of the philosophic life and a political career is declared to be necessary for the perfect man,¹⁰ but man's duty to the state is never definitely mentioned,¹¹ not to speak of the exaggerated view of it which obtained in the city-state of Plato and Aristotle. This attitude is Stoic, although it would be rash to say that Stoic influence was its source rather than the natural development of the human mind, whereby the city-state came to be regarded as an imperfect political institution. Stoic influence is perhaps more pronounced in the generous impulse which would extend the field of higher education so as to include all, if only the means were not lacking.¹² It is even more typical of the liberal thought of the age that the writer betrays anxiety lest his system should be condemned because it excludes those who are without a fair amount

¹ *περὶ παίδων ἀγωγῆς* 3 C-4 B; Quint. I. i. 1-9.

² π. π. ἀγ. 4 C-5 C; Quint. II. ii, iii.

³ π. π. ἀγ. 6 A-7 A.

⁴ Quint. X. vii.

⁵ 3 E. ⁶ 4 A. ⁷ 7 C. ⁸ 7 A.

⁹ If we except his vacillation on the question of *παιδεραστία*, 11 D-F. ¹⁰ 8 A.

¹¹ The nearest approach to such a mention is in 8 A, where the philosophic life divorced from the practical is said to be useless (*ἀνωφελής*). ¹² 8 E.

of money and leisure.¹ The peculiar stress laid upon self-control in speech and in anger is another good instance of Stoicism freed from Stoic exaggeration and paradox.² I can discover nothing in the treatise which is in sentiment Epicurean or peculiarly Christian.

As city-life in Greece diminished in importance and attractiveness, home-life became more absorbing. It is therefore not surprising that in the treatise we are discussing family influence is very prominent, and the father takes his due share in the education, especially the moral education, of his children. The care of the father is to begin before the birth of his son, when he chooses his wife.³ He must bestow great care upon the selection of teachers,⁴ and even when the best possible means have been taken to secure efficient instruction, he must test personally the progress of his children. 'Some fathers are worthy of censure, who entrust their children to tutors and teachers, without themselves seeing or hearing their instruction. Wherein they do greatly err. For they ought to examine their children every few days, instead of entrusting their hopes to the disposition of a hireling.'⁵ In the latter part of the treatise the writer dwells on the necessity of a father's showing tact and common-sense, even to the extent of pretended ignorance, in dealing with a young man's errors.⁶ And in the final section, where the power of parental example is emphasised, an instance is quoted which could have appealed to none who had not thrown aside Greek convention and prejudice. An Illyrian woman is praised for educating herself late in life in order to instruct her own children.⁷

The last reference, remarkable for a Greek, would have been quite natural to a Roman; for Cornelia and the Gracchi had become a commonplace of the moralist. Early Roman education previous to about 250 B.C. was chiefly a strict up-bringing in a pure home atmosphere. The mental training, which was intensely practical, was based

upon, and sprang naturally out of, the home-training. This education, during the first years of childhood, was to a great extent under the supervision of the mother; afterwards the father took the more prominent part, when the boy became old enough to learn the duties of citizenship. Contact with Greece introduced new ideals and widened the educational curriculum, so that schools grew up in which the required instruction could be given. In this way the parental control of education was diminished, and in many cases the whole up-bringing of a child would be delegated to menials; but nevertheless the old system remained as an ideal to which the instincts of the nobler Romans continued to return in theory at least, if not in practice. Pliny,⁸ and especially Tacitus,⁹ regret the passing away of the old state of things, and we cannot but suppose that their views were shared by many of their countrymen. Possibly with the Romans, as with the Greeks, the loss of political liberty was accompanied by an increased yearning for home-life as a means of satisfying the natural desire for authority and influence. It may even be that the great outcry of the satirists of the first century A.D. against marital immorality was in part due to this feeling, and that the strictures of Juvenal and Tacitus had their origin not only in greater wickedness but in an awakened conscience. Be this as it may, it seems certain that the value attached to parental influence and example in the *περὶ παιδων ἀγωγῆς* was the outcome of moral forces which were appealing both to the Greeks and to the Romans during the first two centuries B.C.

The Romans valued physical education solely for utilitarian purposes, and regarded cultivation of the body for aesthetic reasons as effeminate, if not positively immoral. They held that exercise should consist in training for war.¹⁰ The treatise we are considering, although it is Greek enough to give τὸ εὐεκτικόν and εὐρυθμία as one object of physical training, nevertheless lays most

¹ 8 D. ² 10 B. See also 6 B-D, and 7 E.

³ 1 B. ⁴ 4 C.

⁵ 9 D. The use of *ἐλπίδας* referring to children is perhaps a reminiscence of Quintilian, who uses *spes* in the same sense.—*Inst. Orat.* I. i. 1-4.

⁶ 13 D, E. ⁷ 14 B, C.

⁸ *Ep.* VIII. 14. 4 foll.

⁹ *Dial. de Orat.* XXXIII. 4 foll. and *ibid.* XXXIV.

¹⁰ See Horace *Satires* II. 2. 11, where *militia* is used in the sense of 'hard exercise.'

stress on warlike exercises, such as throwing the javelin.¹

The treatise is also Roman in its frequent appeals to utilitarian motives. Greek education, at Athens at any rate, aimed chiefly at a refined employment of leisure; Roman education was intended to fit a boy for the business of life. The *περὶ παιδων ἀγωγῆς* presents a curious combination of the two views. The more liberal view of the Greek is not forgotten: 'philosophy' holds the chief place in education.² But there is often apparent an anxiety lest the principles recommended should be rejected as unpractical. Parents repent that they have neglected their sons' education, when the latter, through that neglect, fall into expensive (*πολυτελεῖς*) vices.³ Even philosophy is used in the narrow sense of the word which the Epicureans and Stoics brought into common use; for the catalogue of its functions⁴ shows that the writer limited it to ethics. The most telling instance of all occurs in the discussion on memory, which is recommended because of its utility in practical life.⁵

The author does not display any wide familiarity with Roman literature. With one important exception, the only reminiscences I can discover are a couple of similes which may, perhaps, have been suggested by the language of Lucretius.⁶ This is distinctly curious, as the writer nowhere betrays any Epicurean tendency. But parallels to the doctrines, and even the language, of Quintilian are both frequent and close, although the rhetorician is never mentioned by name. Quintilian's work, in spite of its limited aim, is marked by a breadth of treatment, a liberalism of thought, and a comprehensiveness of view, which are as rare in a technical treatise as they are valuable. He strikes the right note in the preface to the first book, and keeps to it throughout. 'The perfect orator,' he declares, 'must of necessity be a good man: accordingly I demand from him not only consummate power of speech, but every

mental virtue.'⁷ His object is not the training of a single faculty or the cultivation of an accomplishment, but the development of all the powers of man and their concentration upon the object to be attained.⁸ That this object was eloquence is a mere accident, due to the circumstances of the time in which Quintilian lived. But though the particular aim may change from age to age, the principle is of universal application and holds good of every educational system worthy of the name. It was doubtless the universal character of Quintilian's principle which appealed most strongly to his Greek successor. The chief resemblances between the two works I have given in the table of comparison drawn up at the beginning of my discussion. The only further point to be noticed is that the Greek treatise is very meagre in the details of intellectual education, most attention being directed to moral training. The two works in a way supplement each other. It may possibly be inferred from this that our author did not feel inclined to go over the same ground as Quintilian, not only because his object was less limited in scope than that of the Roman, but also because Quintilian's methods of instruction in literary pursuits were generally known, and recognised as excellent.

I must now say a few words about the standpoint of the treatise, and the type of man it would strive to produce. Xenophon, who is the Greek writer most quoted, and the one who is most similar in character to our author, was Hellenic, rather than Athenian or Spartan, so we shall expect to find in our treatise those Greek ideals, and those only, which belong to the permanent contribution of the Greeks to human thought.

(1) The education mapped out is liberal. It does not aim at producing a professional, but a man.

(2) It is comprehensive in scope. The period of education extends from birth, or even before, to manhood. All sides of human activity, physical, moral, and intellec-

¹ *περὶ παιδων ἀγωγῆς* 8 D.

² *τὴν δὲ φιλοσοφίαν προσβέβειν* 7 C.

³ 5 B. ⁴ 7 D. ⁵ 9 F.

⁶ The first of these similes (they are both mentioned above) is not applied to illustrate the same point as Lucretius had in his mind.

⁷ *Inst. Or. I. pro. 9.*

⁸ This is characteristic of the Greek writer also. His ideal is general training with special attention to *φιλοσοφία*, i.e. ethics, 7 C-F.

tual, are duly considered: no one-sidedness and no cramping are permitted.

(3) The greatest confidence is shown in the power of education to correct the deficiencies of nature. Corporal punishment is considered unnecessary and unwise.

(4) As a corollary from this, the importance of securing the best possible teachers, and the highness of their calling, is fully emphasised.

(5) Although it is assumed that due regard will be paid to the gods,¹ no mention is made of religion as a sanction of morality. The ethical standpoint throughout is low: the motives appealed to are 'the hope of honour and the fear of punishment.'² This does not prevent the writer from demanding a high standard of conduct, only he is aware that the educator can only appeal to motives which are understood by immature minds.

(6) The duties of citizenship, although recognised, are not made prominent. The institution of the greatest educational value is not the state but the home. By the co-operation of parents and teachers there can be produced a man with all his human instincts developed and refined, strong and handsome in body, dignified and graceful in manner and speech, aware of his duties in all relations of life, and with the self-mastery necessary to perform them, a lover of truth as a noble and holy thing, a 'sportsman' who can take even defeat in a proper spirit, knowing that it is not well to be successful in everything.³

QUINTILIAN.

The part of the *Institutio Oratoria* with which I am chiefly concerned is the first book and parts of the second. This portion deals with the education of the boy at home, under the literature-master (*grammaticus*), and his early instruction under the *rhetor*.

In the importance he attaches to the parents' influence, in his appreciation of the influence exercised by nurses, attendants, and tutors, in the stress laid upon the paramount

value of a high-principled and experienced teacher, in his condemnation of corporal punishment, Quintilian is closely followed by the author of the *περὶ παιδων ἀγωγῆς*. But there are two questions of general educational interest, which are omitted in the latter work, but discussed at some length in the former. Education at a school, says Quintilian, is preferable to education at home. He rightly lays stress upon emulation as a factor in a boy's progress, and defends the school from the stock charge of corrupting character by the assertion that it is the evil home-atmosphere which is the real danger, that boys do not learn bad habits at school but bring them there.¹ This latter remark is interesting; because it shows, not only the low state of prevalent morality, but also the value which was still attached by many Romans to home-training. The other novelty in Quintilian is the importance he attaches to a study of the child. The teacher must always be on the look out for signs of ability, and the teaching must be adapted to the peculiar character of each individual pupil.⁴ He adds a point which shows clearly what a sagacious master he must have been. Character, he says, is often unconsciously discovered in games.⁵

But to turn to literary education. The two principles which underlie the system of Quintilian are definitely laid down early in the book, and they are consistently kept in view throughout. The first is the value of character. A perfect orator must be a good man.⁶ The second is the value of a developed and trained intelligence. As it is an instinct for birds to fly, horses to run, beasts to ravin, so mental quickness and cleverness are peculiarly human characteristics.⁷ He shows great faith in the natural capacity of man, and is convinced that good education will show satisfactory results even with unpromising material.⁸

After some interesting remarks on the method of teaching children the alphabet, syllables, words, and writing, Quintilian gives a short account of literary study (*grammaticæ*) as a preparation for the study of rhetoric (*rhetoricæ*). He begins with a remark which

¹ 7 E. ² 12 C.

³ οὐ γὰρ τὸ νικᾶν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἡττᾶσθαι ἐπίστασθαι καλὸν ἐν οἷς τὸ νικᾶν βλαβερὸν, 10 A. This remarkable sentence is worth a passing notice. I know of no other passage in Greek or Roman literature which approaches so near to the modern idea of a 'sportsman.'

⁴ I. iii. 1-7.

⁶ I. *pro.* 9.

⁵ I. iii. 11.

⁷ I. i. 1.

⁸ I. i. 2, 3.

will prove of great importance when we consider Quintilian's contribution to educational science. 'It makes no difference,' he says, 'whether I speak of Greek or Latin, although my opinion is that Greek should come first.'¹ By beginning Greek first he plainly refers to systematic study, and the reasons assigned for the preference are (a) that Latin will be, to a certain extent, 'picked up,' and (b) that Greek literature, being the source of Latin literature, must be studied first.² But the point upon which stress should be laid is that Quintilian makes no difference between learning the mother-tongue and learning a foreign language. In other words, in mastering a foreign language appeal must be made to the ear as well as to the eye, and the pupil must be trained to speak as well as to write.

Grammaticæ is divided into two parts:—

- (a) the art of speaking and writing (*recte loquendi scientia, scribendi ratio*)
- (b) interpretation of the poets,³ to be preceded by textual criticism and accompanied by literary criticism (*poetarum enarratio, emendata lectio, iudicium*).

The first division is also called 'method' (*methodice*), and the second 'history' (*historice*).⁴ Roughly speaking, (a) is concerned with the formal side of literature, including what is now called 'grammar,' (b) with subject matter. Of course no arbitrary line must be drawn between 'form' and 'content,' as the two necessarily overlap.

In his treatment of grammar, Quintilian has much to say upon rare forms and curious etymologies. These strike the modern reader as savouring of pedantry, though in all probability Quintilian allowed them a large part of his discussion, not because they were correspondingly important, but because they were neglected more than they should have been. But after treating of the parts of speech he mentions a point which at once arrests the attention. It is seen from this passage that the Roman boy could not learn either his own language or Greek by mere imitation. He had to 'grind the gerund-stone.'⁵

The passage is as follows. 'Boys must learn especially how to decline and conjugate: otherwise they will not understand the subsequent instruction. This warning would have been unnecessary, were it not that many, in their over-hasty eagerness, begin with what should be learnt afterwards, and while they prefer to display their pupils engaged on more showy matters they are really hindered by this short-cut to knowledge.'

From the eighth chapter of the first book it is clear that in the earlier stages of language-teaching the use of oral speech (*lectio*) was considered of great importance. The pupil learnt by imitation, for the master read beforehand (*praelegere*) the passage under discussion, with, apparently, some comment. The care bestowed upon good reading is worthy of all praise, and shows up a lamentable failing in our own secondary education. The boy is to be taught when to breathe, how to modulate his voice, and to pay attention to appropriate gesture. Careful pronunciation, especially of difficult collocations of sounds and of final syllables, is to be taught by a professional actor⁶ (*comoedus*). A graceful carriage, and artistic play of the features, are also considered to be essential. Quintilian approves of the plan of sending pupils to gymnastic instructors (*palaestrici*), in order that they may learn how to hold their hands, place their feet, and adapt the movements of the head and eyes to those of the body.⁷

But all this attention to elocution does not blind Quintilian to the supreme importance of moulding the moral character by means of the subject-matter of the books that are being read. The pupil must begin with Homer and Vergil, who will be read more than once. 'The mind is raised,' says Quintilian, 'by the majesty of heroic poetry, draws inspiration from its noble deeds, and imbibes its high ideals.'⁸ Licentious or effeminate literature is rigorously excluded.

The literary training recommended by Quintilian consists chiefly of oral work during the early stages. But writing was not neglected. At first the written work seems to have consisted of paraphrasing simple

¹ I. iv. 1. ² I. i. 12.

³ And apparently of other writers also. See I. iv. 4; also I. viii. 18.

⁴ I. ix. 1. ⁵ I. iv. 22.

⁶ I. xi. 4-8.

⁷ I. xi. 15-17.

⁸ I. viii. 5.

poetry, such as Aesop's fables, but (and this is an important point) this paraphrase seems to have been done first orally.¹ Afterwards simple themes were introduced, which marks the beginning of free composition, and these 'essays' (*theses*) formed a large part of the early training under the *rhetor*.² The preliminary work with the *rhetor* contained much learning by heart,² but translation is not mentioned until quite late in the course. It was certainly not used as a means of learning a language.

In spite of the stress he lays upon literary training, Quintilian is not blind to the advantage of a general education. The *ἐγκυκλιος παιδεία* of the Greeks receives his recommendation on the ground that all the subjects of the curriculum will make the orator more perfect. Music and geometry receive special treatment, and are praised not only for utilitarian reasons but for their value as culture.⁴ Quintilian seems to feel that his comprehensive curriculum would meet with criticism, for he is at great pains to show that his system aims at the best possible results, and presupposes more than average ability in the learner.⁵ He concludes his first book with a vigorous condemnation of those who would limit the curriculum for utilitarian reasons. 'We make difficulty a cloak to conceal our laziness. We are not in love with our work; eloquence is sought because it brings in filthy lucre, not because it is an honourable and beautiful pursuit. I would not care to have a pupil who calculated how much money his studies would bring in.'⁶ Quintilian aimed at the development of a man's powers and their concentration upon a specific object, oratory. His method is the only true one, whatever the special aim of the teacher may be, and the words I have quoted might well be taken for a motto by every headmaster in the land, whether his school be elementary, technical, or secondary.

¹ I. ix. 2.

² II. i. 8-10. In the matter of style clearness is of prime importance. II. iii. 8.

³ II. vii.

⁴ I. x.

⁵ I. xii. 14.

⁶ I. xii. 16, 17.

THE EARLY HUMANISTS.

The first half of the fifteenth century is a most important period in the Revival of Learning. For some time there had been growing a tendency to take a broader view of life than obtained in the mediaeval Church. That Church had performed a salutary duty in insisting upon self-sacrifice and renunciation: the time had come for insisting on the complementary virtue of self-development. The movement owed, if not its birth, at least much of its strength, to the social and political institutions which flourished in the townships of northern Italy. It has often been pointed out that these showed a remarkable resemblance to the city-state of ancient Greece, an institution which encouraged that cultivation of all human capabilities so characteristic of the Greek moral man. Great impetus was thus given to the study of the classical writers, and to the recovery of a knowledge of Greek.

Every student of education is deeply indebted to the works of Prof. Woodward, who has made a special study of the scholars of the Renaissance, and brought their educational treatises to the knowledge of English readers. His account of the Humanists is remarkable for its impartiality, and for the sympathy with which he enters into the spirit of the age in which they lived. But their debt to the sources I have mentioned has never yet been sufficiently emphasised. The early Humanists introduced but little of their own, and were content to re-affirm ideals which had been tried with success long before. Their educational treatises contain passage after passage which are mere translations of Plutarch or paraphrases of Quintilian, the resemblance often extending to words and phrases. Sometimes, but rarely, this indebtedness is acknowledged: in the great majority of cases the writers follow the custom of their age by quoting without acknowledgment of their authorities. The extent of the debt will be clear if I merely quote the characteristic 'notes' of early Humanism as given by Prof. Woodward. Afterwards some resemblances in detail will be given.

The general purpose of the Humanist educator was to produce, not a student, but

a 'complete man,' a 'perfect citizen.' The attainment of this ideal requires :—

- (1) the development of natural gifts by learning ;
- (2) the training of the moral character by the lessons afforded in ancient literature ;
- (3) distinction in social life, the marks of which were (a) power of conversation, (b) personal grace and dignity of bearing, (c) power of employing leisure nobly.

It will surely be acknowledged that we have here no advance upon Plutarch and Quintilian. The only change is that power of conversation has taken the place of oratorical skill. This was certainly due to the difference between society in the age of the Humanists and society in the time of Quintilian.

The Humanist laid stress upon the importance of home-training in infancy. The mother should nurse her child herself, or secure nurses who are of good character and without faults of manner or speech.

In literary education the Humanists, while appreciating the value of home influence, advocated attendance at a school, both in order to counteract the danger of indulgence and also to encourage emulation. But parents ought to supervise their sons' studies. The choice of a good teacher, and the need of observing and cultivating the special aptitudes of each pupil, are insisted upon at some length. Corporal punishment, except as a last resource, is discouraged as a servile indignity. Language was taught orally, and the art of reading aloud was carefully cultivated. Voice, bearing, and gesture were the objects of special attention. Grammar, however, was thoroughly taught, as lying at the root of intellectual progress. Stress was laid even upon those details of orthography and etymology which have surprised us in Quintilian. Vergil and Homer were the

foundation of literary training. History was studied as an aid to conduct, oratory as necessary for leaders of political life. Philosophy was almost limited to ethics. Geometry and music were taught, and to a certain extent, natural science. The latter was regarded chiefly as an amusement for children, which interested them in the lives of animals and the facts of natural phenomena.

There does not appear to have been much difference between the methods employed by the Humanists in teaching Latin and those used in the case of Greek. In the latter, however, translation was employed ; but it was translation into Latin and not into the mother-tongue. We do not hear of translation as a means of teaching Latin.

As physical exercise, the Humanists advocated military training. They were also careful to encourage such exercise as would develop a graceful carriage and a dignified bearing. Vittorino was probably the first to teach gymnastics with the latter end in view.

What I have written above is simply a summary of Professor Woodward's chapter on the characteristics of Humanistic teaching. It is obvious that nearly every detail is derived either from Plutarch or Quintilian or both. In fact, the chief novelty in the new teaching was the combination of classical culture with the Christian religion, and the protest made against the one-sided and cramping education advocated by the mediaeval Church.

Any attempt to compare the treatises of the Humanists with the actual words of Plutarch and Quintilian is difficult owing to the very abundance of material. The following parallels from Maffeo Vegio and Aeneas Sylvius are taken quite at random, and show how closely the Humanists copied Plutarch and Quintilian. They could be multiplied *ad infinitum*. Aeneas Sylvius, in particular, is almost entirely a transcript.

AENEAS SYLVIUS.

Opera.

[*de liberorum educatione*]

sicut enim caeca est sine disciplina natura, sic sine natura macerata est disciplina ; in utraque parum momenti fuerit si subtraxeris exercitium, sed hisce tribus absolutio comparatur.—966.

PLUTARCH OR QUINTILIAN.

ἡ μὲν γὰρ φύσις ἀνευ μαθήσεως τυφλόν, ἡ δὲ μάθησις δίχα φύσεως ἐλλιπές, ἡ δ' ἀσκησις χωρὶς ἀμφοῖν ἀτελές.—2 B.

ego illos aut eruditos esse vulerim, quod primum est ; aut se non eruditos scire.

[of sons]—967.

studendum est . . . ut recta sit facies, ne labia detorqueas, ne linguam sugas, ne vitium ebrietatis effingas, ne servilem imiteris vernalitatem, ne supinus sit vultus, ne deiecti in terram oculi, ne inclinata utralibet cervix, ne inductae (*sic*) rusticae manus, ne status indecorus, ne sensio irridenda.—967.

pulchra nobilitas sed alienum bonum, praeiosae divitiae, sed fortunae possessio ; venusta gloria, sed inconstans : forma decens, sed caduca parvoque durans tempore. optanda sanitas, sed permutatione prorsus obnoxia ; concupitae vires, sed aegritudine aut senectute facile contabescunt : nihil praestantius intellectu et ratione. hoc nullus fortunae tollet incursus, nulla calumnia distrahet, cumque reliqua omnia tempore minuuntur, scientiam et rationem senectus auget. bellum singula trahens atque omnia ferens, solam doctrinam nequit eripere. Megaram cum Demetrius captam solo aequasset, Stilphonem philosophum illic omnium nudum interrogavit an suorum quicquam amisisset ? cum Stilphon haud equidem, inquit, bellum enim nulla ex virtute spolia ducit. ac Socrates cum Gorgiam percontaretur, an Persarum regem felicem esse putaret ; nescio, inquit, quantum virtutis habeat et disciplinae.—971.

sicut enim qui longo tempore coniecti in vinculis fuerint, si posterius solvantur, ob vinculorum consuetudinem nequeunt ambulare, ita qui sermonem diutius astrinxerint, si quando loquendum ex improvisio fuerit, commutescunt.—975.

formanda est in primis vox ne foeminea exilitate frangatur, neve similiter (*sic*) tremat, . . . non excidant extremae syllabae . . . nomina quaedam praeceptores tui versusque offerent tibi, affectatae difficultatis ex pluribus et asperrime coeuntibus inter se syllabis concatenatos, et veluti confragosos quam citissime ut volvas atque pronunties.—975.

quae tumet oratio incivilis est : quae tenuis est, nusquam movet, quemadmodum corpus non incolume, verumetiam bonae habitudinis esse oportet.—975.

MAFFEO VEGIO.

[*de educatione liberorum*]

ex hac ratione illud etiam sequitur quod nec minus admonendi sunt patres, ut scilicet potu ac cibo moderate sumpto commisceant se uxoribus : ne contra observantes contingant eos habere filios eluones (*sic* ; meant for *helluones*) et ebrios : cuius modi memorant illud Diogenis in quendam adolescentulum ex temulentia desipientem : Adolescentule, inquit, ebrius te semnavit pater.—Book I. ch. iii.

talem in summa se exhibebit praeceptor discipulis : ut sit austerus sine tristitia, comis sine scurrilitate, severus cum iocunditate, iocundus cum severitate, irascatur sed modice, obiurget sed non contumeliose. corrigat, sed non acerbè ; dissimulet interdum, sed cautius. laudet etiam sed non profusius. blandiatur quoque, sed gravius. remittat, sed non licentius ;

de paedagogis hoc amplius, ut aut sint eruditi plane, quam primam esse curam velim, aut se non esse eruditos sciant.—*Inst. Orat.* I. i. 8.

observandum erit etiam, ut recta sit facies dicentis, ne labra distorqueantur . . . ne supinus sit vultus, ne deiecti in terram oculi, inclinata utrolibet cervix.—*Inst. Or.* I. xi. 9.

ne indoctae rusticaeve manus, ne status indecorus.—*Inst. Or.* I. xi. 16.

εὐγένεια καλὸν μέν, ἀλλὰ προγόνων ἀγαθόν. πλοῦτον δὲ τίμιον μέν, ἀλλὰ τύχης κτῆμα . . . δόξα γὰρ μὴν σεμνὸν μέν, ἀλλ' ἀβέβαιον. κάλλος δὲ περιμάχῃτον μέν, ἀλλ' ὀλιγοχρόνιον. ὑγίεια δὲ τίμιον μέν, ἀλλ' εὐμετάστατον. ἰσχὺς δὲ ζηλωτὸν μέν, ἀλλὰ νόσφ' εὐάλωτον καὶ γῆρα . . . νοῦς καὶ λόγος. καὶ ὁ μὲν νοῦς ἀρχικὸς ἐστὶ τοῦ λόγου, ὁ δὲ λόγος ὑπηρετικὸς τοῦ νοῦ, τύχῃ μὲν ἀνάλωτος, συκοφαντία δ' ἀναφαίρετος, νόσφ' δ' ἀδιάφορος, γῆρα δ' ἀλύμαντος. μόνος γὰρ ὁ νοῦς παλαιούμενος ἀνηβᾷ, καὶ ὁ χρόνος τᾶλλα πάντ' ἀφαιρῶν τῷ γῆρα προστίθῃσι τὴν ἐπιστήμην. ὅ γε μὴν πόλεμος χειμάρρου δίκην πάντα σύρων καὶ πάντα παραφέρων μόνην οὐ δύναται παιδεύειν παρεέσθαι. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ Στίλπωνα ὁ Μεγαρέως φιλόσοφος . . . σύμφωνος δὲ καὶ συνωδὸς καὶ ἡ Σωκράτους ἀπόκρισις ταύτῃ φαίνεται. καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἐρωτήσαντος αὐτόν μοι δοκεῖ Γοργίου . . . —5 D-6 A.

ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ πολλὸν χρόνον δεθέντες κἂν εἰ λυθεῖεν ὕστερον ὑπὸ τῆς πολυχρονίου τῶν δεσμῶν συνηθείας οὐ δυνάμενοι βαδίζειν ὑποσκελίζονται, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον οἱ πολλὰ χρόνῳ τὸν λόγον σφίγγαντες, κἂν εἴ ποτε ἐκ τοῦ παραχρήμα δεήσειεν εἰπεῖν, οὐδὲν ἦττον τὸν αὐτὸν τῆς ἐρμηνείας χαρακτῆρα φυλάττουσι.—6 F.

non enim puerum . . . aut femineae vocis exilitate frangi volo aut seniliter tremere.—*Inst. Or.* I. xi. 1.

ne extremae syllabae intercedant.—I. xi. 8.

non alienum fuerit exigere . . . ut nomina quaedam versusque affectatae difficultatis ex pluribus et asperime coeuntibus inter se syllabis catenatos et velut confragosos quam citissime volvant.—I. i. 37.

ἡ μὲν γὰρ ὑπέρογκος (λέξις) ἀπολιτευτὸς ἐστίν, ἡ δ' ἰσχυρὴ λίαν ἀνέκπληκτος. καθάρει δὲ τὸ σώμα οὐ μόνον ὑγιεινὸν ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐεκτικὸν εἶναι χρή, καὶ τὸν λόγον ὡσαύτως οὐκ ἄνοσον μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐρωστον εἶναι δεῖ.—7 A, B.

PLUTARCH OR QUINTILIAN.

τοὺς ἔνεκα παιδοποιίας πλησιάζοντας ταῖς γυναῖξιν ἦτοι τὸ παράπαν αἰונים ἡ μετρίως γούν οἰνωμένους ποιεῖσθαι προσήκει τὸν συνουσιασμόν. φίλοινοι γὰρ καὶ μεθυστικοὶ γίνεσθαι φιλοῦσιν ὧν ἂν τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς σπορᾶς οἱ πατέρες ἐν μέθῃ ποιησάμενοι τύχωσιν. ἡ καὶ Διογένης μενράκιον ἐκστατικὸν ἰδὼν καὶ παραφρονοῦν 'νεανίσκε', ἔφησεν, 'ὁ πατήρ σε μεθύων ἔσπειρε.'—1 D.

non austeritas eius tristis, non dissoluta sit comitas . . . plurimus ei de honesto ac bono sermo sit . . . interrogantibus libenter respondeat, non interrogantes percontetur ultro. in laudandis discipulorum dictionibus nec malignus nec offusus . . . in emendando, quae corrigenda erunt, non acerbus minimeque contumeliosus : . . . ipse aliquid immo multa cotidie dicat,

exhortetur frequentius. moneat saepius, multa de honestate loquatur. multa de integritate vitae proferat, multa quotidie quae inter se discipuli discutiant. habet enim viva vox nescio quid quod uberius pascat. sit assiduus, non aspernetur laborem. rogantes audiat humaniter, non rogatus ultro ipse etiam eos invitet.—II. x.

non quo exacta omnium cognitio exigenda sit, id enim haud unquam fieri posset: sed quo ea transcurrentes per quandam degustationem, quod facere solent qui vina emunt, attingant.—II. xx.

The result of the present inquiry has been to show that the Revival of Learning was really a 'revival,' a re-statement of old ideals and not the creation of new ones. The Humanists absorbed the permanent ideals of Greek civilisation as presented in the treatise *περὶ παιδων ἀγωγῆς*. To this they added the intellectual training advocated by Quintilian. They adapted the resultant combination to the institutions of their time, and in particular to Christianity. The great lesson they afford to ourselves is the need of adapting our classical education so as to meet modern conditions and requirements. They also show how we can improve our methods. For some time we have neglected the use of oral speech in teaching Latin and Greek, and

quae secum auditores referant. licet enim satis exemplorum ad imitandum ex lectione suppediet, tamen viva illa, ut dicitur, vox ahi plenius praecipueque eius praeceptoris, quem discipuli, si modo recte sunt instituti, et amant et verentur.—*Iust. Or.* II. ii. 5-8.

ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκ παραδρομῆς μαθεῖν ὡς περὶ γέυματος ἔνεκεν.—7 C.

have thereby abandoned one path, perhaps the best path, by which knowledge reaches the brain. It is surely our duty to clear away the prejudice which prevents a new 'revival,' for fear lest the opportunity now presented should be lost, and classical training succumb to the destructive forces which are threatening it.

W. H. S. JONES.

Postscript.—I have to thank Dr. Sandys for his kindness in reading the proof of this article. He suggests that the Humanists should be compared, not with the Greek of the *περὶ παιδων ἀγωγῆς*, but with Guarino's translation. Unfortunately I have been unable to inspect the latter.

NOTES ON OVID'S *HEROIDES* I.—XIV.

P. = *Palmer's Edition* (1898); S. = *Shuckburgh's* (1885).

1. 1 Haec tua Penelope lento tibi mittit, Ulixē;

lento—S. says 'loitering' and so, apparently, P. The sense 'indifferent, unconcerned, cold, unfeeling' suits the context better. Cp. 8. 18 *rapta coniuge lentus eris*? = 'Wilt thou stand idle (indifferent) when thy wife is torn from thee?' So of things: e.g. 3. 138 *nec miserum lenta ferreus ure mora*, i.e. 'cold delay.' Here 'loitering delay' would be feeble repetition. Compare too 15. 169 *lentissima pectora*, i.e. insensible to love, and Hor. *Sat.* 1. 9. 64 *lentissima brachia* = devoid of feeling.

1. 78 Quae tantum lanas non sinit esse rudes.

S. translates 'whose only accomplishment is to dress her rough wools;' but the

emphatic position of *rudes* shows it contains the point, *tantum* qualifies *lanas* only. The sense then will be: 'who forbids no roughness save in wool.'

3. 19 si progressa forem, caperer ne nocte timebam.

P. calls *nocte* offensive, because of *noctibus* in l. 21. The danger of such criticism is seen by comparing 3. 19, 92 *precibus* . . . *prece*; 4. 64, 65 *soror* . . . *sorores*; 6. 6, 7 *ventos* . . . *vento*; 6. 67, 69 *unda* . . . *undas*; 7. 131, 132 *igne* . . . *ignibus*; 9. 140, 142 *aqua* . . . *aquas*.

Other instances of repetition are: 3. 83, 85, 89 *irae* . . . *iram* . . . *ira*; 3. 141, 145 *corpus* . . . *corpora*; 3. 146, 148 *pectore* . . . *pectus*; 4. 9, 10, 11 *amori* . . . *amor* . . . *amor*; 4. 54, 55 *gente* . . . *gentis*; 4. 63, 66 *domus* . . . *domo*; (also, above quoted 4. 64,

65 soror . . . sorores); 4. 79. 82 ferocis . . . ferox; 5. 78, where see P. on the v.l. 'toros'; 5. 82. 84 nurus . . . nurus; 5. 147, 151 opem . . . opis; 6. 156, 160 viro . . . viro; 7. 60, 62 aquis . . . aquas; 7. 127, 130 impia . . . impia; 7. 183, 184, 185 scribentis . . . scribimus . . . ensis . . . ensem; 8. 37, 39 amori . . . amorem; 9. 73, 76 calathum . . . calathis (and see P.'s note); 9. 107, 109 rerum . . . rerum; 9. 121, 124 oculos . . . oculis; 10. 5, 6. 9, 13, 16 somnus . . . somnis . . . somno . . . somnum . . . somno; 10. 12. 14 torum . . . toro; 10. 17, 18, 21 litora . . . litus . . . litore; 11. 51, 53 gemitus . . . gemitus; 12. 106, 118, 132 nocens . . . nocens . . . nocens (all at end of pentameter); 13. 14, 17, 19 potui . . . potui . . . poteram; 13. 85, 87, 96 volui . . . velles . . . velis; 14. 38, 40 frigida . . . frigida.

Thus 1. 40, 42 cannot certainly be impugned on the ground of *dolo* repeated. On this distich Dr. Leeper (*Herm.* Vol. X. No. XXV.) has said: 'The Greek and Roman writers were not nearly so sensitive as ourselves to such repetitions.' I do not believe they were sensitive at all. Variety of vocabulary for mere variety's sake is a modern invention. Such passages as Livy 3. 43. 6, where *corpus* occurs four times in four lines, are not so uncommon as some editors would have us believe. See Wissenborn on Livy Pref. § 4 primae origines proximaque originibus, and for Greek see Sandys and Paley, *Priv. Or.* Pt. i. (1898), xxxiv. §§ 14, 18 and note, § 18 (οἶνον . . . οἶνον . . . οἶνον), and Jebb *Antig.* 76 etc.

4. 161 Nobilitas sub amore iacet; miserere priorum,
Et, mihi si non vis parcere, parce meis.

P. and S. heap scorn on *miserere priorum*, but there is nothing ridiculous in saying: 'have pity on my lineage.' Moreover, the dead ancestors were a living reality to Romans and Greeks, as they are to Japanese to-day. The view that the Romans regarded dead ancestors as still capable of emotion gains confirmation from Livy 21. 53. 5 quantum

ingemiscant patres nostri . . ., si videant nos . . . paventis intra castra. This is one of the passages which commentators explain away as 'more vivid than the normal imperfect subjunctive.' But in none of the cases quoted is 'remote possibility' in the future an impossible conception, as an examination of Pref. § 1 nec, si sciam, dicere ausim, 22. 59. 15, 26. 32. 4, 31. 31. 15, and 39. 37. 3 will show.

It is significant that in 26. 32. 4 we have: si ab *inferis* existat rex Hiero; and in 39. 37. 3 si existat hodie ab *inferis* Lycurgus.'

5. 61 Aspicit immensum moles nativa profundum.

S. translates *moles nativa*—a crag of natural rock, but no one expects the rock to be artificial. P. says: 'a crag reared by nature's hand,' but even this seems unsatisfactory: only nature could rear a crag. If 'moles' be felt in its artificial sense, *i.e.* breakwater, then 'nativa' has point. Translate: 'a mole nature built.'

14. 71 Jamque patrem famulosque patris
lucemque timebam:

For the repetition *patrem . . . patris* (quite regular in Latin) where English uses a pronoun, *i.e.* 'my father and *his* henchmen,' cp. 8. 117 genus . . . generisque parentem, and Livy 1. 7. 9 facinus facinorisque causam; 3. 15. 8 bellum ducemque belli; 3. 72. 6 cupiditas et auctor cupiditatis. See Wissenborn on Livy Pref. § 4 primae origines proximaque originibus.

14. 74 Nox tibi, ni properas, ista perennis
erit.

The present *properas*, for *properabis* or *-averis*, is especially frequent (like *ei* + Fut) in minatory and monitory sentences. Cp. Livy 36. 28. 6 ni propere fit, quod impero, vinciri vos iubebo; Nep. *Epam.* 4. 4 nisi id confestim facis, ego te tradam magistratui; Cic. *Verr.* 4. 39. 85 moriere virgis, nisi mihi signum traditur.

H. DARNLEY NAYLOR.

Ormond College,
Melbourne University.

NOTES ON TERENCE.

Adelphoe, Prologue, 20-21.

TERENCE is answering the charge that the plays produced under his name are really the work of certain *homines nobiles*. In 18 ff. he writes :

eam laudem hic ducit maxumam. quom illis placet
qui vobis univorsis et populo placent,
quorum opera in bello, in otio, in negotio
suo quisque tempore usust sine superbia.¹

Professor Ashmore translates: 'of whose services . . . each one of you, when his convenience demands it, disdains not to avail himself.' Sloman's note is similar; so too Parry's. Kauer, in his revision of Dziatsko's annotated edition, declares that '*sine superbia* kann wohl nur auf *quisque* bezogen werden.'

Grammatically, of course, it is easier to take *sine superbia* of the subject. But is it natural to say that one does not disdain to avail himself of the services of the leading men of the state? This view gives an infelicitous turn to 15-21, by putting into Terence's mouth language uncomplimentary to the great men of whom he is speaking. Terence, says Suetonius, videtur se levius defendisse quia sciebat et Laelio et Scipioni non ingrati esse hanc opinionem. If there is any truth in this suggestion, we may be sure that Terence would not have employed seriously the language which the editors quoted above ascribe to him. Nor can we suppose that he was speaking jocularly, for in that event his taste and tact would have been open to question and there would have been the danger that his remark would have been taken seriously. Further, pleasantries are not in order in Terence's prologues: these prologues deal with matters too weighty and touching the poet too closely to admit of jesting.

Let us rather take *sine superbia* of the predicate, as characterizing the conduct of the men whom Terence has in mind as

helpers of the Romans. If proof is needed that the words can be so taken, see the editors on *nullo . . . labore*, Horace *Serm.* i. 1. 88; cf. also Horace *Serm.* i. 9. 59-60 *nil sine magno vita labore dedit mortalibus*. The thought of 15-21 could have been expressed either by (1) *Nam quod isti dicunt . . . qui . . . populo placent quique in bello negotio vobis sine superbia opitulati sunt*, or by (2) *Nam . . . dicunt . . . maxumam, quom illis placet qui . . . placent eorumque opera in . . . negotio sibi ut licet, quorum opera vos ipsi usi estis* ('since he pleases . . . and since he is privileged to use their help,' etc.). In form (1) *sine superbia*, 'democratically,' so to say, is in order; in form (2) it can find no place at all. Our text results from fusion of these two forms; we must render by 'without objection from them,' 'without friction,' and so 'freely,' 'unreservedly.'

The view taken in this note has been taken by Fabia, Wagner, Schrevelius, Stallbaum, Ruhnken (apud Parry), but these editors advanced no serious arguments in its favour. This may explain why later editors have ignored this interpretation and, *mea quidem sententia*, have gone astray. Plessis (1884) saw the truth, but his note is brief, hesitant in tone, and supplies no parallels for the construction got by taking *sine superbia* of the predicate. Bentley and Giles passed the matter over entirely.

Adelphoe 163-166.

crede hoc, ego meum ius persequar,
neque tu verbis solves umquam, quod mihi
re male feceris.

Novi ego vostra haec 'nollem factum: dabitur ius iurandum, indignum
te esse iniuria hac,' indignis quom egomet
sim acceptus modis.

So, substantially, the passage is printed and punctuated by Dziatsko, Fleckeisen, Ashmore, Fabia. But with this punctuation what is the bearing of the *quom*-clause in 166? It surely cannot give the reason for the words *nollem . . . indignum*. Nor can it

¹ I use Dziatsko's text throughout; the punctuation, however, is my own.

be associated with those words in adversative force, unless we suppose a very awkward confusion of *oratio obliqua* (Sannio could have said: *novi ego vos dicturos esse iniuria hac me esse indignum, quom indignis egomet sim acceptus modis*).

I would remove the point after *feceris*, 164 (or at the most put but a comma there), and I would set a dash before *novi*, 165, and another after *iniuria hac*, 166. Then *novi... hac* is a passionate outburst, a paratactic illustration of *verbis*, 164, and it is possible at once to join the *quom*-clause directly with *ego mecum... feceris*, as giving the reason for the threat in those words. This theory involves no dislocation of the syntax. But even if it does, that is no argument against it: for emotional exaltation is regularly attended by syntactical dislocation. Perhaps the most effective example is Horace *Carm.* i. 3, 1-8, where the simplest and best view of the syntax is to say that normally the sentence would have been concluded by a plain consecutive *ut*-clause (5-8), completing *sic* (1,2), but that in his emotion Horace substitutes for this coldly logical and prosaic expression the emotional wish-form of 5-8.¹ The point does not need illustration: every reader will supply examples for himself.

Let us note now another point. The MSS. give *ius iurandum dabitur te esse indignum iniuria hac*, i.e. they give a trochaic octonarius followed by an iambic octonarius. Bentley held that such a change of rhythm is unknown in Terence. Fr. Schlee *De vers. in cant. Ter. consecutione* (Berlin, 1879), 34 f., upheld Bentley. Dziatsko adopted these views and so accepted Fleckeisen's transposition. Tyrrell wrote *ius iurandum iniuria hac | dabitur te esse indignum*, against all MSS. Kauer, however, held to the MSS.: 'genug Aufregung,' he says, 'als Anlass zur Abwechselung gibt es ja.' My treatment of the passage is independent of Kauer's, but the results are the same. The punctuation pro-

¹ This explanation is not new: cf. e.g. Bennett on the passage. No doubt many taught it before Professor Bennett's book was published. It avoids entirely the logical difficulty which some have felt here: see e.g. Wickham *ad loc.* and Earle, *Proc. Amer. Phil. Assoc.* xxiv. (1903), pp. xxii, xxiii. Emendation is needless, nay, spoils the passage.

posed above will throw into sharper relief the change of rhythm and so give greater emotional force. Plessis retained the MSS. text, but merely said, in defence of his procedure, 'Klotz, Speng., Psych. (= Psichari) gardent avec raison la leçon des mss.'

Adelphoe 202.

Age iam cupio, si modo argentum reddat, sed ego hoc hariolor: ubi me dixero dare tanti, testis faciet ilico vendidisse me; de argento somnium; 'mox: cras redi.'

It is the fashion here to take *hariolor* as = 'I am dreaming,' 'I am talking like a fool.' So Schrevelius, Stallbaum, Ashmore, Sloman. The latter remarks that the passage shows 'pretty clearly into what disrepute soothsaying must have fallen before this date.' Kauer gives: 'das fasle ich nur;' for the 'Entwertung' of the word he refers to Langen, *Beiträge zur Kritik... des Plautus*, 260 ff., Hauler-Dziatsko on *Phorm.* 492, Brix on *Mil.* 1256.

A far better sense is got by taking *hariolor* as 'I prophesy you.' Sannio means, 'I'm telling you something and it's true too.' In *Phorm.* 492, cited by Kauer, the word seems to me to have a good sense; it is an ironical compliment. There Phaedria exclaims to the leno, *Non mihi credis?* 'Do you think I'm lying?' The leno replies, *Hariolare*, 'you are true prophet,' 'you speak gospel truth.' The sting lies not in *hariolare* itself but in what it happens to connote: there is little balm to the soul in 'you speak unadulterated truth' when in a given context that comes to mean 'I think you are lying.' This line of thought will show that Dorio's coming comments, *fabulae, logi, somnia*, etc., cannot be taken as proof that *hariolare* in 492 'ist ganz entwertet.'² Further, *Adel.* 206, *verum*

² *Amphit.* 1132, cited as an example of this Entwertung, is not germane. In 1127 Amphitruo, sadly bewildered, cries: *Ego Teresiam coniectorem advocabo et consulam quid faciendum censeat*. Stage thunder is then heard, and Jupiter says: *hariolos, haruspices mitte omnes: quae futura et quae facta eloquar, multo adeo melius quom illi, quom sum Iuppiter*. There is nothing here discreditable to *harioli* or *haruspices*: the father of gods and king of men will himself tell all, so that appeal to the human mouthpieces of the gods is needless. In prose we should have had (*ego*) *eloquar*.

cogito id quod res est, is a good commentary on *sed ego hoc hariolor*, 202, as I interpret those words.

Langen (*Beiträge*, 260 ff.) discusses all the passages in Plautus in which *hariolor* occurs; ¹ he refuses to believe that the word anywhere in Plautus, 'gleichbedeutend ist mit *nugas agere, nugari*': it has in Plautus, he says, 'überall den Sinn "prophezeien," speciell "die Wahrheit verkünden."' For the latter sense he cites *As.* 315 ff., 579, 924, *Cist.* 746, *Mil.* 1256, *Rud.* 347. *Rudens* 377, too, certainly belongs here, though Langen says that there 'es dann doch fraglich bleibt, ob die Prophezeiung eintrifft oder nicht.' The passage runs: *scivi lenonem facere ego hoc quod fecit: saepe dixi. Capillum promittam optimumst occipiamque hariolari. Rudens* 1139 ff. is interesting: *quid si ista aut superstitiosa aut hariolast atque omnia quidquid insit vera dicet? . . . DAE. Non feret, nisi vera dicet: nequiquam hariolabitur.* Here, too, *hariolari* = *vera dicere*; *nequiquam hariolabitur* does not militate against this view, for *Daemones* is merely quoting the verb *hariolor* as used by implication in Gripus's speech, 'she will do her "prophesying" in vain.' In no case, then, in Plautus is *hariolor* 'entwertet.'

¹ I have verified his list by the collections of Professor Lodge, the author of the monumental *Lexicon Plautinum*.

Further, several times *superstitiosa (superstitiosus) est* is used, always as = *vera praedicat*: see *Am.* 322, 323 *Curc.* 397, *Rud.* 1139 ff.

Langen, however, after thus setting the editors of Plautus right, himself lapsed sadly, by declaring that in Terence *Phorm.* 492 and *Adel.* 202 *hariolare* = 'du faselst.' I have shown above, I hope, that this view is wrong. Langen went on to show that in Ennius, *Trag. Frag.* 42 Ribb., *superstitiosae hariolationes* occurs, 'wo der ganze Zusammenhang den Begriff von *nugae* völlig ausschliesst,' and that later still Pomponius, 109 ff. Ribb., clung to the old sense. His conclusion was: 'Es scheint fast, als wenn eben nur Terenz das Wort in dieser Bedeutung gebraucht hat.' Even this is disproved by the considerations advanced above, and an array of notes in editions of Plautus and Terence is in sad need of correction.²

CHARLES KNAPP.

² In *Cas.* 353-356, *Most.* 571 certe hic homo inanis est. TR. Hic homo est certe hariolus, *Rud.* 1139, *Poen.* 791 *hariolus (hariola)* = 'a speaker of truth.' In *Am.* 1132, *Men.* 76, *Mil.* 693, *Truc.* 602, the only other passages in which the noun occurs, it certainly does not = *nugator*. Parry's index cites *hariolor* from Terence only twice, in the places already discussed. It cites *hariolus* only from *Phorm.* 708, where Geta is saying, 'We can advance excuses enough for breaking off the marriage: *introdixit hariolus, haruspex vetuit.* Here, surely, the *hariolus* is not a *nugator*, but one whose utterances are received with respect.

ZEUS ASKRAIOS.

THE following inscription was recently found at Myndus. As I have two independent transcripts, there can be no doubt about the reading.

Πο]σίδεος Κλεωνύμου καθ' ἑοθεσί[ν
δὲ] Ποσιδέον καὶ ἡ γυνή Ἡδεῖα Ἀπολλωνίδου
καὶ] οἱ υἱοὶ Κλεώνυμος καὶ Ἀπολλωνίδης
Ἀλ]ικαρνασσεῖς Διὶ Ἀκραίῳ

Letters of about the first century B.C. or A.D.

Apollonius the Paradoxograph (Westerm. p. 107) describes a Halicarnassian sacrifice to Zeus Askraios. This Zeus Askraios has

owing to the gloss of Hesychius ἄσκρα· δρῦς ἄκαρπος been identified with the Zeus who on coins of Halicarnassus stands between two trees. But several instances are quoted in the Thesaurus where Ἀσκραῖος has been wrongly substituted in MSS. for Ἀκραῖος (Ascera was of course well known to literati as the birth-place of Hesiod), and I expect that we should restore Ἀκραίῳ in the text of the Paradoxographi and also in Plutarch *Animine an Corporis Affectiones sint peiores* p. 501 F. This treatise, or rather speech, cannot be by Plutarch. The writer of it was

residing in the province of Asia.¹ He mentions Ἀνδίων καρπῶν ἀπαρχάς as being offered to Zeus. The town he wrote in was a *conventus*. It may have been Sardeis.

It is true that the reading ἐκτραχυνουσα τὴν Ἀσίαν is vouched for as far as I know only by the interpolated MSS., the rest having οὐσίαν or δαίαν, but the mention of Lydian products is decisive.

There may have been a Zeus Akraios anywhere.

Of course this inscription does not prove that there was a Zeus Akraios at Halicarnassus, as it comes from the neighbouring Myndus, but it makes it probable that the Halicarnassian god's name was Akraios and not Ascraios.

W. R. PATON.

NOTES

A NOTE ON THE *ANTIGONE* OF SOPHOCLES.

SOPH. *Antig.* 885-888:—

καὶ κατηρεφέϊ

τύμβῳ περιπτύξαντες, ὡς εἶρηκ' ἐγώ,
ἄφετε μόνῃν ἔρημον, εἴτε χρῆ θανεῖν
εἴτ' ἐν τοιαύτῃ ζῶσα τυμβεύειν στέγῃ.

In this speech of Creon the commentators have invented an intransitive meaning for τυμβεύειν, which is elsewhere transitive, and translate ζῶσα τυμβεύειν by 'to live a buried life.' But in view of the fact that Antigone's crime consisted in performing the rites of

burial over her brother's body, why may not τυμβεύειν be transitive with ironical signification, and the passage translated 'whether she wish to die, or, shut in such a home, to spend her life in making tombs'? This view seems to be confirmed by the following line, where, the severity of his speech having shocked even Creon himself, he apologises with the words, 'for we are not to blame in the matter of this maiden' (*i.e.* she had sufficient warning).

T. M. BARKER.

NEWS AND COMMENTS

Now that the two associations of headmasters have declared in favour of a reformed pronunciation of Latin, a timely publication is Dr. Postgate's *How to Pronounce Latin: A Few Words to Teachers and Others* (Bell, 1s.), which not only tells the way to pronounce Latin, but sketches the evidence on which our knowledge rests, and discusses the arguments for and against a reform. An appendix gives three pieces of Latin verse and prose with phonetic transcript. This pamphlet should be in the hands of every teacher of Latin. Messrs Atkinson & Pearce have also issued a cheap reprint of the *Rules for Latin Pronunciation* for Dent's First Latin Book, with some of the exercises in phonetic transcript (6d.).

The Board of Education has just issued a paper directing that the reformed pronunciation of Latin be adopted in schools which come under the Board. Unfortunately, the

Board still leaves a loophole of escape, in asking a school which 'prefers to adopt some other system' to 'explain it clearly' to the Board. This is, however, a long step in advance.

The death of Prof. Pelham, President of Trinity College, Oxford, removes prematurely one of the most capable workers in the Classical field. His influence was that of the teacher, the lecturer, and the administrator, rather than the student or writer, good as his work was in this department, and he had an important part in the development of newer branches of classical study at Oxford.

A correspondent draws attention to a curious error in Munro's translation of Lucretius. The passage is Book VI. line 992. Here *vitro* is translated by 'brass,' the cause evidently being the collocation in the text with *argentum*, and the similarity of sound

with 'glass.' The error appears in both the first and the latest editions of the poet.

Professor Gilbert Davies' inaugural address on the Utility of Greek (Maclehose, University Press Glasgow) is well worth reading. The new professor of Greek dwells upon the mental training which Greek and Latin furnish in what may be called the higher regions and takes as a test the 'ability to handle abstract and general terms with understanding and accuracy'—a capacity which modern languages do not bring out in anything like the same degree. He draws attention to some advantages of Greek which are often overlooked—the instructiveness of its subtle logical development and its special importance to the student of what in this

country is the much neglected study of comparative Philology. Mr. Davies is no advocate of compulsion.

It is worth remarking that the *Revue de l'Instruction Publique en Belgique* is now entering upon its fiftieth year. The aim set forth in the first number was to keep clear of party politics, and to keep in view only the intellectual interest of writers and readers. The subjects dealt with include classical and modern literature, history and geography, mathematics and science, and all other branches of secondary instruction, with the study of method. Its non-political character has been faithfully kept. To readers of the *Revue* it must seem strange that England has no corresponding paper.

CORRESPONDENCE

HOMER AND HIS AGE.

MR. ALLEN, in his more than generous review of my *Homer and His Age*, says that, as to Knossian and Mycenaean archaeology 'an expert, I understand, has been retained to curse.' If Mr. Burrows be that expert, he has not, like the Archbishop in *The Mort Arthur*, 'done the curse in the best manner and the most orguilous,' and I thank him for correcting some misprinted numerals, while I look forward with pleasure to his promised work on Cretan discoveries. Mr. Evans's *Prehistoric Tombs at Knossos* appeared too late for my purpose, and I have been unaware of its publication.

Mr. Burrows cursed not, but I think his criticism is 'perhaps a little gay.' He says that, in my book, 'Highlanders illustrate most things, and not least that the Laird of Runraurie used imported swords but home-made spades at the Battle of Killiecrankie.' I do not understand! I said nothing of the sort. If the Laird did anything at the battle, he viewed it from his drawing room window. He used no swords or spades, home-made or made in Germany; and it is

doubtful whether the spades which dug the shelter trenches on the hill were those of Claverhouse, or of Lord George Murray in 1746. I said nothing about them. I said nothing at all about the Laird, except that, on his home farm, remote from any town, he had a smithy, in 1689; and that probably a Homeric chief, far from towns, had also *his* smithy; so that his ploughman and shepherd would not need 'to forge their own tools,' as Mr. Leaf supposed to be indicated in *Iliad* xxiii. 835. The historic Highlanders illustrate, I think, *two* other points of custom in my book—not 'most things.' The burden of illustrating the evolution of defensive armour is borne, successfully, I hope, by other peoples, Egyptian, mediaeval, Red Indian, and so forth. Not to know or care about military evolution, outside of the Homeric area, has been the fault, or the misfortune, of Reichel and his allies.

Is it by my own fault, or through the gaiety of Mr. Burrows that he has misunderstood me on a point of essential importance? After interesting remarks on the overlapping

of bronze and iron weapons (of which I also gave examples) in Cretan graves, he argues that the indifferent use of both metals at once 'throws light on that twice repeated phrase in the *Odyssey*' (αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐφέλκεται ἄνδρα σίδηρος), 'which is inexplicable on the theory that the swords and spears of 'the moment' were all of bronze, and that Homer always 'means what he says.'

Now, in my opinion, that phrase is hardly explicable, if at all, on any theory except that, at the 'moment' when it was composed, 'iron' was synonymous with 'weapon,' as in Shakespeare's 'I can wink and hold out my iron.' But iron could not become synonymous with 'weapon' (I suggest), while bronze was equally in use, and if I am right 'the moment' of the composition of the verse (a popular gnomic saying), must be long posterior to the chalko-sideric age of these Cretan tombs. (Cf. *Homer and His Age*, p. 193, where this opinion is stated.) Mr. Burrows then gives Mr. Ridgeway's view, and adds, 'Mr. Lang on the other hand—How are the mighty fallen—takes shelter in the host of Athetizers, and rejects the two lines as "a very late addition"' (pp. 193, 203).

Did Mr. Burrows not read the context of the words which he quotes? I say (p. 193) 'the line in the *Odyssey* must be a very late addition . . . , and here I own that for 'must be' I should have written, 'may be regarded as a very late addition.' But surely my next sentence makes my meaning clear. 'If, on the other hand, the line be as old as the oldest parts of the poem, the author for once forgets his usual antiquarian precision.' That is, the author, or authors, who, by the hypothesis of their archaizing, have uniformly, through two epics, adhered to bronze as the metal for weapons, suddenly let out, in one line, that iron and weapon are synonymous. On pp. 203, 204, I speak of the same line, and again offer these alternative explanations, 'if the line is genuine,' 'if the line reveals the true state of things.' This being so, how can I be said to athetize the line? We should never athetize a line because it contradicts a theory of ours, though I am far from denying that some lines, as in Mr. Allen's opinion, 'were of the nature of gag,' thrown in by a rhapsode. My bias

leads me to prefer, for my own part, the theory that a solitary line, when it contradicts the uniform tenure of two epics, is a very late addition. It implies that, when it was composed, the predominance of iron had given rise to a popular saying in which iron is synonymous with weapon.

It is as if, in the Early English epic of *Beowulf* (in which iron is the only metal for weapons), *bronze*, in a single line, appeared as a synonym for weapon. That line, if genuine, would be a survival in *Beowulf* of a very much earlier age than *Beowulf* as it stands; and I suggest that the *Odyssean* line may be 'gag' of a much later age than the *Odyssey* in general. I trust Mr. Burrows will believe me when I say that I did not athetize the line; but offered alternative solutions, twice.

Mr. Burrows, speaking of the hypothetical 'younger poets' of the age when bronze and iron, for weapons, overlapped, says 'they constantly introduced the arms and weapons of their own age.' If so, iron would be nearly as common for swords, as bronze in the poems, or more common. Yet it appears in only one line, and then as a synonym for weapon. How could this happen? Because every man of the younger poets, except one, in one line, was, so far, a careful archaizer? Is that probable? The question I leave to the reader. Mr. Burrows regards the poems as full of anachronisms,—or at least as containing several anachronisms, left standing into the early iron age, conceivably out of ancient poems whose very language is unknown. Of these survivals he names the Palace of Alcinous and the Shield of Achilles. Now I cannot tell when the palaces of Mycenae and Tiryns fell; nor, when they had fallen, how long their afterglow lingered in the poetic sky. But, as to the Shield of Achilles, it is of metal, though I presume that the 'five folds' (*Iliad* xviii. 480), may perhaps indicate the usual Homeric substrata of leather. Now have we a trace of a metal cover for a shield in the Mycenaean epoch to which Mr. Burrows seems to refer the Shield of Achilles?

I understand Mr. Burrows to date the Shield long before the time of the 'twelfth or eleventh century bard,' 'who cheerfully

attached his metal greaves to the old-world description of Achilles' armour.' But had the 'old-world' Mycenaean warriors metal plating to their shields? If Mr. Burrows has found proofs of this, verily he may 'do the curse' against me, whose ignorance has found none. I have even argued that, as against stone arrow-heads, used in the Mycenaean prime, no metal plating for shields was needed. Starting from these two supposed anachronistic survivals—old things among new—namely, the palace of Alcinous, and the metal-plated and richly adorned Shield of Achilles,—Mr. Burrows gives, as a parallel case, Shakespeare's anachronisms, which are new things among old. 'It is just so with Shakespeare when he writes *Julius Caesar* with North's *Plutarch* in front of him.'

Let us take Shakespeare when he writes *Troilus and Cressida* with Homer's (or Chapman's) *Iliad* in front of him. His knowledge of *Iliad* iii.—vii. is interesting, and he skilfully uses the situation in Troy and the Greek camp after the duel of Paris and Menelaus (*Iliad* iii.) and before the passage of arms between Hector and Aias (*Iliad* vii., *Troilus and Cressida*, Act I).

In the first act Shakespeare introduces the following list of anachronisms: (1) 'Friday, Saturday'; (2) Negroes; (3) India; (4) The cuckold's 'horn' of Menelaus (*not* that of Paris); (5) Pounds, as a measure of weight; (6) The rack, as an engine of torture; (7) The Devil; (8) Glass; (9) Coins; (10) The Mint; (11) A battering ram; (12) Angels; (13) 'Taking a trumpet' (to invite a parley); (14) The challenge to any Greek knight to combat for the honour of his lady. I dare say there are other anachronisms: fourteen in one Act, and fourteen so portentous, are good enough. Of course Mr. Burrows cannot produce in Homer any parallel to these wild anachronisms. My book is a criticism of alleged Homeric anachronisms. From the upper chambers of the girls to the grave-clothes of Hector, from corslets to the costume of the hastily clad heroes in the *Doloneia* (apparently

alluded to in *Troilus and Cressida*), from the 'man of many lots' to the Bride Price, I have examined all the alleged anachronisms which I could find noted by critics, and have argued that not one of them is an anachronism. I may be confuted—Mr. Burrows has not attempted the task—but his analogy of the Shakespearian anachronisms is manifestly not to the purpose.

As for the *unus color* of the Book of Common Prayer, the Book, in language, has the *unus color* of the English language from 1540 to 1552; but, as regards dogma and ritual, the various Books of Edward VI. have not *unus color*. The Book and the Epics are not analogous.

Mr. Burrows thinks 'several great poets more probable than one great poet, and evolution more probable than creation by a single act.' This faith, he says, is harder for poets than the belief in one great poet. All poets, except Coleridge, have found the evolutionary creed too hard for them, in a matter of their own business. Is it not possible that these experts may be right? They are not, like other experts, all at odds among themselves! In any case the Darwinian doctrine of evolution had to produce its proofs, and show the processes. I have a right to ask to be shown at least one instance in which evolution has produced anything essentially resembling the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Lönnrot and the *Kalewala* were offered as analogous by critics who knew nothing of the matter. Comparetti took the immense trouble needed for the purpose of pulverizing their false analogy.

By the way I am familiar with 'the regular masonry of the Palaces at Knossos and Phaestos,' which is also shown in a gem representing the Lions of the Mycenae gateway, *with their heads on!* The date of this gem (in the Ashmolean Museum) is a puzzle far beyond me, but I doubt if 'the regular masonry' was, at Mycenae, contemporary with the Lion Gate.

A. LANG.

REVIEWS

FRAZER'S *ADONIS, ATTIS, OSIRIS*.

Adonis, Attis, Osiris: Studies in the History of Oriental Religion. By J. G. FRAZER, D.C.L., LL.D., Litt.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. London: Macmillan & Co.; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1906. 8vo. One Vol. Pp. xvi + 339. 8s. 6d.

ONCE more, and in marvellously rapid succession to the *Lectures on the Early History of Kingship*, Dr. Frazer mitigates our impatience for the new edition of *The Golden Bough* by publishing an instalment of its novelties. They give us a vivid conception of the *embarras de richesse* which awaits us. Dr. Frazer has been well advised in thus preparing the way. He himself anticipates in the Preface help which may be derived from criticism. I am doubtful whether this will figure very largely when he comes to incorporate the essays in the larger work. Except in jots and tittles,¹ Dr. Frazer does not give his critics much to glean on matters of detail; even additional evidence can rarely be offered save by scholars who have specialised in some particular corner of the vast field of comparative religion. It may be safely predicted that neither of these volumes will attain Nirvana when 'the dewdrop slips into the shining sea' of the great book that is coming. Continued *karma* will await them in their providing an introduction to scientific methods and principles for those who lack time or opportunity for working through *The Golden Bough*. Their manageable bulk will encourage students, and the fascination of the subject and of the author's perfect English will attract the general reader. I am hopeful that they may do something towards a more adequate knowledge of the *magnum opus* in Germany. At present to some extent *laudatur et alget*. A recent number of Preu-

schen's *Zeitschrift f. d. neuest. Wissenschaft* contained in two separate articles admissions that *The Golden Bough* was not accessible to their authors, though they were writing on subjects in which Dr. Frazer's researches are classical. I was talking of this recently with a friend who is professor of theology in a great German university. He put it down mainly to the poverty of English teaching in the *Gymnasium*, but also remarked on the difficulties the book presents to the German reader. The very fact that Dr. Frazer writes like a literary man and not as a bald chronicler, and that he deals with an immense variety of complex phenomena, demanding a vocabulary very much beyond the normal, will sufficiently account for this, in spite of the lucidity which strikes any English reader as the most conspicuous feature of the author's style. We may hope that these short books will be read where the 1400 pages of *The Golden Bough* have proved 'leider unzugänglich'; and we may fairly anticipate that through the breach thus made the big battalions of the third edition will soon enter.

Of the three Oriental cults which form the subject of this book, that of Tammuz-Adonis claims as much space as the two others together; Attis, indeed, takes only 45 pages. But more than half of Book I. is devoted to a subject which has rather a loose connexion with Adonis. On p. 34 Dr. Frazer thus introduces the 91 pages which deal with the burning of the divine king:—

It deserves to be noticed that Mesha, king of Moab, who sacrificed his eldest son by fire, claimed to be a son of his god, and no doubt transmitted his divinity to his offspring; and, further, that the same sacrifice is said to have been performed in the same way by the divine founder of Byblus, the great seat of the worship of Adonis. This suggests that the human representatives of Adonis formerly perished in the flames.

The inference is probable enough: but since no evidence is given which would bring Adonis into the Moloch succession for historical times, would it not perhaps have been clearer to put these chapters together as a separate section? The *nexus* is so far

¹ A brief catalogue of misprints may render a humble service. P. 11 shows us *Bend-Hadad*. P. 17, l. 7, has a semi-colon for a comma. P. 46 misspells 'hoo ρ oe.' P. 154, α^2 , $\omega\sigma\iota\omicron\upsilon\nu$, and 170, η^3 , $\epsilon\delta\omicron\kappa\omicron\iota\nu$, are wrongly accented. Finally, on pp. 240 and 296 the Egyptian month *Phamenoth* gets its *m* and *n* transposed.

from obvious that the ordinary reader, turning chapter after chapter in which Adonis is not even mentioned, may ask τί ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Διόρυσον :

It is needless to sketch the thesis of the book, beyond saying that the three deities are shown to be alike corn-gods, the yearly dying and reviving spouses of a corn-goddess who is not subject to these vicissitudes. The relations of the divine pair supply some conclusions of high importance for the history of sociology. There is naturally not very much which bears on authors who for Tripos candidates monopolise the epithet 'classical.' A footnote (p. 169) disposes of Catullus lxiii, the poem which probably occasions most of the knowledge possessed by the average classical man upon the subjects of this book. Dr. Frazer accepts Hepding's view that Catullus's Attis is priest, not god—one wonders that any other view should have been maintained.¹ The discussion of the Anthesteria (p. 135) rehabilitates the connexion of the festival with flowers. But I must here confess that my philological conscience boggles at the derivation from *ἄνθος*, though Dr. Frazer's authority may quiet the qualms suggested by Miss Harrison's account of the All Souls festival at Athens. Is there any other noun in *-τήρ* or *-τήριον* formed from a neuter *-ος* base? I can think of nothing nearer than *φωστήρ*. Possibly the name was assimilated to that of some other festival, having originally had a term morphologically more normal.

A few points suggest themselves by way of supplement from the field of Aryan (Indo-Iranian) religion. A close parallel for Dr. Frazer's account of the identification of Osiris and the moon might be sought in the lunar view of Soma, another plant-god: see Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, 112 f. The argument (p. 90) as to Cyrus and his reverence for fire is somewhat weakened by the possibility that the extreme ritual reverence for the element was a Magian accretion upon Persian religion: the exact definition of the religion of Cyrus is of course a keenly debated question. The suggestion (p. 159) that 'it was the Morning Star which guided

the wise men of the East to Bethlehem' has to reckon with the fact that in the Magian system the planets were malign.² On pp. 249 f. one or two points may be added. 'Soul-cakes' are known in Parsism, though not recognisable in the Avesta itself: see West's note in *S.B.E.*, vol. v. pp. 283 f. (It is probable that the *drōn* is alluded to in Tobit iv. 17.) There are, moreover, some points in which the Parsi *fravashis* provide interesting parallels. The *fravashi* was perhaps a conflation of the Aryan ancestor-spirit (Vedic *pitṛ*) and the Magian (aboriginal) conception based upon the external soul.³ In Yasht 13, the Avestan *locus classicus*, we are told that the *fravashis* produce conception and the growth of the embryo—compare the views of the Australian aborigines. They also make plants grow (l. 43), a fact which may have some bearing on the Lettish custom which Dr. Frazer describes on p. 250.

Perhaps the most far-reaching result of Dr. Frazer's researches for the general theory of religion is the proof he affords that the most startlingly similar rites and beliefs will arise in entire independence in different parts of the world. The midsummer festival (pp. 149 f.) and the All Souls celebration are excellent examples from this book. To suppose such parallels due to inheritance from a primeval unity is wholly impossible. It follows that they are directly evolved out of the very constitution of man, and develop in intellectual and spiritual quality as the race advances. Anthropology thus comes in to complete our synthesis as we study the deepest of the world's problems; and theologians may find in Dr. Frazer's work an invaluable aid to their understanding of a divinely ordered progress. This and many other lines I should have liked to follow a little further, had this *Review* been the proper place. I will only register my generally complete agreement with Dr. Frazer in his verdicts on Church history, and my appreciation of much that he says about the spread

² This bald statement needs expanding: see my art. in *Hastings' Dict. of the Bible* iv. on 'Zoroastrianism,' p. 990. It is not, moreover, absolutely certain that the Magi of Matt. ii. were Zoroastrians.

³ See my paper, 'It is his Angel,' in *Journ. of Theol. Studies*, 1902, pp. 514 ff., esp. 520-527.

¹ Cf. the letter of Eumenes II to the high priest Attis in Dittenberger's *Orientalis Graeci Inscr. Select.* 315 (163 B.C.) and the editor's note.

of the one Oriental religion that did establish itself permanently in the West. But when in his otherwise admirable words about the Founders of Buddhism and Christianity he speaks of 'the eternal salvation of the individual soul' as for them the 'supreme object of life,' and charges both of them with 'glorification of poverty and celibacy,' I must plead that the Gospels (despite some appearances) show nothing of the kind. If 'the city of God' was pictured as 'coming in the clouds of heaven' (p. 194), it was coming down on to this earth—a New Jerusalem, and not a Nephelococcygia. And if the 'individual soul' is supremely prized, it is only because the reformed individual soul is the one power for establishing the reformed human State which was figured in the βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.

The compromise between Christianity and paganism, which came in like a flood in later days, must not be allowed to obscure the character of the Founder's message.

But these things cannot be adequately discussed in allusions. My excuse for saying so much is that one cannot review the work of a great scholar and pioneer of scientific research, and ignore the deepest things that he has touched. And since there have been signs—not many, it is true—that *The Golden Bough* raises alarms to-day like those *The Origin of Species* raised in its time, a whole-hearted welcome from the camp in which the present reviewer stands may not be superfluous or impertinent.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON

Didsbury College, Manchester.

HORACE.

Das Fortleben der Horazischen Lyrik seit der Renaissance. Von EDUARD STEMLINGER. Leipzig: Teubner. 8½" × 5½". Pp. xx + 476. 9 small reproductions chiefly from Didot. M. 8.

DR. STEMLINGER'S volume is one which those who love the Odes of Horace will thoroughly enjoy. There are no technicalities in it. Comment, criticism, emendation, and abstruse exposition are all most felicitously absent. The author's concern is wholly with Horace as a poet, and, in spite of Goethe's dictum that 'he lacks all real poetic quality especially in the Odes,' this book establishes the opposite truth by a mass of evidence which is as interesting as it is indisputable. Neglecting formal translations of all the Odes, of which France claims 100, England 90, Germany 70, and Italy 48, Dr. Stemplinger has here collected references to an immense number of the occasional renderings, imitations, and parodies which are to be found in the literature of the four countries just referred to, adding frequent and admirable illustrations. Probably the collection is far from complete. The 'Hawarden Horace,' for example, is not

mentioned, nor yet is Tennyson, who, though 'overdosed with Horace in his youth,' and so taught like Byron to 'hate' him—for what cannot schoolmasters achieve?—still clearly echoes him in many passages. But whatever omissions there are matter not all, for the proof here brought forward of Horace's undying influence is, as it stands, overwhelming. In Germany the number of his imitators is astonishing, and probably in no country have his 'Geflügelte Worte' become more a part of the language itself; since Ronsard took him for a model, there is hardly a French poet who is not his debtor, while in England Ben Jonson, Milton, Dryden, Congreve, Cowley, Swift, and Pope are witnesses to his charm, and even Shakespeare does not disdain to borrow from him. But, indeed, admiration for the Odes can only perish with all love for letters. The *Exegi monumentum* is as immortal as that recollection of it which begins—

'Not marble, nor the gilded monuments
Of princes shall outlive this powerful
rhyme,'

and the value of this book is not in the

proof which it accumulates of an undeniable fact, but in the living interest which it gives the Odes. The lines *Integer vitæ . . . arcu* seem to please anew when Shakespeare quotes them (*Tit. And.* 4. 2) with the comment—

‘O ’tis a verse in Horace; I know it well:

I read it in the grammar long ago.’

The stanza *Duris ut illex* wins a more living force when we hear it quoted by William Pitt in the House of Commons during the troubled days of 1787. Or think of Frederick the Great in 1757, when things were so ill with him that he had even been thinking of self-destruction, producing this version of *Od.* 3. 29. 49—

‘Connaissez la Fortune inconstante et légère :

La perfide se plait aux plus cruels revers,
On la voit abuser le sage, le vulgaire,
Jouer insolemment tout ce faible univers ;

Aujourd’hui c’est sur ma tête

Qu’elle répand ses faveurs,

Dès demain elle s’apprête

À les emporter ailleurs.

Fixe-t-elle sur moi sa bizarre inconstance,

Mon cœur lui saura gré du bien qu’elle me fait :

Veut-elle en d’autres lieux marquer sa bienveillance,

Je lui remets ses dons sans chagrin, sans regret,

Plaine d’une vertu plus forte

J’épouse la Pauvreté,

Si pour dot elle m’apporte

L’honneur et la probité.’

Such a rendering has not only great historic interest but from a strictly literary point of view, especially if compared with Dryden’s noble paraphrase, is more informing and educative than a dozen commentaries. Or let the reader turn to Ode 3. 2, and he can see how it was imitated by Prior and Swift, or how the *Dulce et decorum* becomes in Du Bellay—

‘C’est chose doulce et belle que mourir
Pour son pays et son Roy secourir,’

rings out in K. Gerok’s war-song (1871)—

‘Schön ist und süss den Heldentod

Fürs Vaterland zu sterben,

Mit warmem Herzblut purpurrot

Das Feld der Ehre farben,’

or stirs Heine to one of those satiric sayings the pregnant force of which is inimitable—

‘Leben bleiben, wie das Sterben

Für das Vaterland ist süß,’

while the final *pede Poena claudio* is reproduced by Voltaire in the fine lines—

‘Et des dieux quelquefois la longue patience

Fait sur nous à pas lents descendre la vengeance.’

All Horace’s most striking phrases and best Odes receive equally happy and instructive illustration. The Barine-Ode for instance suggests a beautiful passage in La Fontaine, and a delightful paraphrase by Bürger, while the lines *Pallida Mors . . . turres* appear thus in Weckherlin—

‘Es klopfet ja der tod mit einem bein

An die pallast und wolkenhohe schlösser

Und armer leut sorglose hüttelein,

Und ist für beide nicht böser und nicht besser,’

and thus in Malherbe—

‘Le pauvre en sa cabane, où le chaume le couvre,

Est sujet à ses loix ;

Et la garde, qui vieillie aux barrières du Louvre,

N’en défend point nos Rois,’

nor would it be easy for a student of style to find a better example than is thus afforded of Latin dignity, Teutonic vigour, and Gallic grace. In fact the Classical and the Modern Languages Association might join hands in welcoming this volume, though possibly the sterner advocates of ‘the mother-tongue,’ or those sober students who take all the Odes seriously, might not accept without a protest Stepney’s racy but admirable reproduction of *Od.* 3. 7—

‘Dear Molly, why so oft in tears ?

Why all these jealousies and fears

For thy bold Son of Thunder ?

Have patience till we’ve conquered France,

Thy closet shall be stored with Nantz ;

Ye ladies like such plunder.

Before Toulon thy yoke-mate lies,
 Where all the live-long night he sighs
 For thee in lowly cabin :
 And though the Captain's Cloe cries,
 'Tis I, dear Bully, pr'ythee rise—
 He will not let the drab in.

Finally it should be said that the book contains musical settings of many Odes together with information about the practice of singing them in schools during the sixteenth century. All references are carefully given : there is a good Index, and an excellent Introduction of fifty pages, which includes (pp. 21, 22) a remarkable collection of

authorities in defence of plagiarism, about which Heine writes : 'Es gibt in der Kunst kein sechstes Gebot ; der Dichter darf überall zugreifen, wo er Material zu seinen Werken findet, und selbst ganze Säulen mit ausgemeisselten Kapitälern darf er sich aneignen, wenn nur der Tempel herrlich ist, den er damit stützt.' Horace himself would have cordially agreed with Heine's view, and probably he would also give his warm approval to these pages, for the renderings here given are for the most part not mere translations, but, like so much of his own work, really poetic reproductions of the original.

T. E. PAGE.

HEAD'S COINS OF PHRYGIA.

A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum: Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Phrygia. By BARCLAY V. HEAD, D.Litt., D.C.L., Ph.D. With one Map and fifty-three Plates. London. Printed by Order of the Trustees, 1906. Pp. cvi + 492. Price 40s.

THIS volume is larger and more amply illustrated than any of its four-and-twenty predecessors. And there are other respects in which it constitutes a conspicuous landmark in the series to which it belongs: it closes the record of the Greek coins of Asia Minor, and it is the last of the British Museum catalogues for which its author will be officially responsible. There will be general regret at the severance of Mr. Head's connection with the great national institution of which he has been for so many years a distinguished ornament. Reflection, however, will temper that regret, for it is betraying no secret to say that we may soon look for the much-needed new edition of his *Historia Numorum*, a work that has long since taken rank as an archaeological classic.

Five years have elapsed since his Lydian Catalogue was published. In Phrygia the numismatic interest is, on the whole, less

varied. The latter country had no archaic electrum, no Croesus. On the other hand, it has recently received considerable attention at the hands of scholars. The writings of Sir W. M. Ramsay and others have done much to familiarize us with the aspect of its natural scenery, while their researches have recovered for us many details of the life that once throbbed through the fifty or sixty cities with the wreckage of which its plains and the sides of its hills are strewn. All this enhances [the importance of a minute study of its coinage, a fact that has been duly appreciated by the authorities of the British Museum. The Phrygian series in the trays has been very carefully 'nursed.' Since 1873 the number of individual specimens has more than trebled; it now stands at 2148. If it be remembered that Mionnet describes only 1636, and that the total included in Babelon's *Inventaire* of the Waddington collection is 1127, it will at once be seen that the new catalogue is relatively much more complete than any that has hitherto appeared. At the same time, the Introduction takes full account of all Phrygian coins published elsewhere, as in Imhoof-Blumer's *Kleinasiatische Münzen*, and thus forms an admirable compendium of everything that is known regarding the

issues of the different Phrygian mints. It goes without saying that the geographical information is mainly derived from Ramsay and J. G. C. Anderson.

It has already been indicated that none of the Phrygian coins are early. As a matter of fact, till the conquest of Alexander the country was not sufficiently civilized to render coined money a necessity. In the course of the second and first centuries B.C., however, we find about twenty towns occasionally striking bronze. During the same period cistophori were issued abundantly at Laodiceia and at Apameia, and much more sparingly at Synnada, while silver was also minted freely at Cibyra, where semi-independent dynasts were tolerated down to 84 B.C. But the numismatic bloom of Phrygia belongs to imperial times. Roman rule brought with it a great development of material prosperity, one result of which was a marked increase in the number of minting centres. The new local currency was, of course, always of bronze. As Head points out, its issue was in general limited to special occasions, such as recurrent religious festivals. The staple needs of the country would be supplied by Roman gold and silver.

Phrygian coin-types are rich in mythological allusion. Imhoof-Blumer, Ramsay, and others have remarked upon the distinctively pictorial character that some of them possess. The best known example is probably the representation of the Noachian deluge at Apameia—not figured by Head, as the London specimen is unfortunately in poor condition. Even more striking, however, as a copy of a picture, is the group of Athena and Marsyas from the same city, an extremely good reproduction of which appears upon Plate XII. Other types that catch the eye in glancing through the illustrations are the capture of Herakles by Eros on a coin of Temenothyrae-Flaviopolis, now first correctly interpreted, the frequently recurring figure of the rider-god with his double-axe, the gladiatorial games at Synnada, and the city-goddess of Laodiceia standing between a boar and a wolf—personifications of the rivers Kapros and Lykos respectively. Besides the usual im-

perial heads, we get occasional portraits, as that of the Proconsul Fabius Maximus at Hierapolis, those of Seitalcas and Pythes at Laodiceia, and those of Antios (?), Veranius, and Marcellus at Cibyra. Whether the persons portrayed were always magistrates, as Head rather implies, seems open to doubt. Sometimes, at least, they were more probably eminent citizens, as in the parallel which Imhoof aptly cites from Mytilene.

The legends are equally interesting. Among the many that are descriptive of types, there may be noted no fewer than six distinct epithets of Zeus. Then we have about ten different names of festivals. Where the inscriptions touch persons or titles, some of the questions involved raise issues that stretch beyond the horizon of the numismatist. Others concern him very directly. What, for instance, is the precise significance of the prepositions *ἐπί*, *διά*, *παρά*, or of the verbs *ἀνέθηκε*, *εἰσαγγέλαντος*, *αἰτησαμένου*, *ἐπιμεληθέντος* upon the coins? And how are we to explain, say, the appearance of a magistrate's name standing by itself in the dative case, or the occurrence of the name of an emperor in the accusative instead of in the more normal nominative? On all such points Head's observations are as suggestive as they are judicious. One's only regret is that lack of space prevents their being fuller. Thus the remark that the Greek dative may sometimes be merely the equivalent of the Latin ablative absolute might appropriately have been reinforced by a reference to the Monumentum Ancyranum. Even *Lydia*, which the reader is recommended to consult, will not give him nearly all he would like to get.

The execution of the work as a whole is entirely worthy of the author's reputation. Accuracy and ample knowledge are writ large on every page, and the room left for criticism is very small indeed. Probably a press correction is responsible for the curious confusion that has crept into the last sentence of the note at the foot of page xxx. Again, while a footnote on page lxx very properly utters a warning as to the ambiguous interpretation of *ἐπί*, the letters themselves are sometimes printed in the text as a preposition in cases where it is

perfectly clear that they are a contraction for ἐπιμεληθέντος or ἐπιμεληθείσης; so, for example, on page lix, in relation to Flaccus and Pedia Secunda at Eucarpeia, where the pieces of larger module bear the unabbreviated participle. But the one serious grievance I have against Mr. Head is the absence of any record of the weights of the bronze coins. Such a record would have been exceedingly useful when numismatists come (as they will certainly do ere long) to group the different issues by denominations. In view of such a grouping, a slight disadvantage attaches to the otherwise highly convenient plan of placing in a separate category those coins of the imperial age which do not bear an emperor's head. It will often be found that the 'pseudo-autonomous' pieces are merely the smaller denominations of groups whose more important members have the imperial image and superscription.

There is one possible link between Phrygian numismatics and Phrygian epigraphy which would seem to have escaped Head's notice. Ramsay (*Cities and Bishoprics*, p. 246) prints a singularly interesting inscription copied at Kavaklar by Sterrett in 1883. It was set up, apparently in the reign of Antoninus Pius, by a certain Apollodotos, who had been chief magistrate of his native town, and who mentions, as 'the climax of the services rendered to the State,' the fact that he had struck coins at his own charges.¹ It is doubtful to what city the inscription had originally belonged. Ramsay, with a good deal of hesitation, decides in favour of Lounda, and anticipates the day when the coins in question may 'gladden some numismatist with the legend ΠΑΡΑ· ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ· ΛΟΥΝΔΕΩΝ' (*op. cit.* p. 241). His prophecy has, I believe,

¹ Α[ὐ]τοκράτορα Καίσαρα Ἀδριανὸν Ἀντωνεῖνον Σεβαστὸν Εὐσεβῆ, Ἀπολ[λ]όδοτος Δ[ιο]δώρου, [σ]τρατηγῶν τῆς πατρίδος μετὰ τοῦ πατρός, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέστησεν ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας τῆς [εἰς] τὸν Κύριον καὶ φιλοτειμίας τῆς εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, κόψας καὶ νομ[ι]σμα[τα].

been fulfilled, although his forecast of the legend has not been exactly realized. I would identify as part of the coinage alluded to in the inscription a piece published by Babelon in the *Inventaire Waddington* (No. 6201). It is a coin of Antoninus Pius, and has on the reverse the words ΥΡΓΑΛΕΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ [CTP]Α. We do not know what the mint of the Hyrgaleis was, and the precise extent of their territory is matter of conjecture. If my identification be correct, it may throw some light upon both these points. And it would not be without a bearing upon the meaning of ἐπί in such a connection—it appears to imply more than a date, and to be practically indistinguishable from διά and παρά. Another coin of the Hyrgaleis, formerly in the Loebbecke collection and now in Berlin, ought perhaps to be re-examined, in view of the scarcity of their issues. It also bears the head of Pius, while its reverse is said to read ΥΡΓΑΛΕΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΑΠΟΛΛΩ[N] CTPA.³ I should not be surprised if it proved to be but a smaller denomination of the coinage of Apollodotos, his name being abbreviated for want of space. That, however, is a point which can readily be determined.⁴

GEORGE MACDONALD.

² M. Babelon (*l.c.*) prints [AP]Χ. In response, however, to my enquiry as to whether [CTP]Α was possible, he writes: 'Les deux lectures pourraient se défendre; à vous donc de décider.' To judge from the cast which accompanies his letter, Α seems to me distinctly more probable than Χ.

³ *Zeitschr. für Numismatik*, xvii. 22.

⁴ The question is less easy to settle than I had anticipated, but the possibilities seem to favour my suggestion. Since the above was written, I have obtained from Dr. K. Regling the following report upon the reading of the coin: 'Die betr. Stelle der Hyrgaleis-Münze lautet auf den ersten Blick ΕΠΙ ΑΠ[ο]ΛΩ CTPA (nicht ΑΠΟΛΛΩ, und auch für N hinter Ω ist kein Platz). Bei genauer Prüfung zeigt sich aber, dass das Ω aus den Spuren von zwei oder drei anderen, durch starken Doppelschlag entstellten Lettern bestehen kann, und diese Spuren passen allenfalls zu ΛΟΔ.'

BUTCHER'S DEMOSTHENES I.

Demosthenis Orationes recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit S. H. BUTCHER. I. Oxford: University Press. No date (Preface dated 1903). 8vo. No paging (Reiske's pages in margin). 4s. paper, 4s. 6d. cloth.

PROBABLY no living scholar combines so many qualifications for the criticism of Greek oratory as Mr. Butcher. It is therefore a great satisfaction that he is giving us a text of Demosthenes. For a long time we have had to be content with the Teubner recension of Dr. Blass. Dr. Blass's services to Demosthenic scholarship are great, and are acknowledged on page after page of the volume before us. But his principles of criticism were far too unsettled twenty years ago to produce a satisfactory standard edition. The stereotyped text of his first volume had to be modified by twenty-six pages of critical addenda in vol. ii. and remodified by five and a half more pages of addenda in vol. iii; while his τέταρται φροντίδες can only be run to earth in his revisions of the school commentaries of Rehdanz. This instability was in fact the outcome of the unsoundness of the principles themselves. They have been fully criticized by Mr. Butcher in *Cl. Rev.* v. 309 ff., and his judgment is recapitulated in the preface to the present work. Dr. Blass with vast erudition collected quotations and imitations of Demosthenes from later writers, and (not unnaturally) greatly overvalued them as evidence for the text. Such quotations may have been made from memory; or taken from worse copies than ours; or corrected by a copyist to conform with the accepted text. Again the three canons of Demosthenic style, of which we owe so much of our knowledge to Dr. Blass, are most uncertain guides for emendation. Demosthenes (says Mr. Butcher) studied arrangement of words not as an 'operarius' but as 'summus in dicendo artifex.' Avoidance of hiatus and of more than two consecutive short syllables¹ were

counsels of perfection, not hard-and-fast rules. As for the rhythmical correspondence of clauses, 'noua quidem multa Blass protulit ex intima rei rhythmicæ cognitione hausta, sed nescio an huius doctrinæ arcana nondum aperuerit, immo uero nemo aperire possit. Etsi enim periodi Demosthenicæ structura est in primis artificiosa, sentiri magis numeros puto quam certis legibus definiri; nec nisi textui ui adlata uel oratoric pronuntiandi neglecta ratione effici potest ut rhythmī inter se prorsus respondeant.' It is refreshing to have these things said for us by a scholar who is also an orator of distinction, and who has full right to speak.

Mr. Butcher himself gives a prudently conservative text, admitting conjectural corrections only at the rate of about ten in one hundred pages, though he records them freely in his foot-notes. Even Girard's τὰ γέγρα ἀναπετάινυσαν for ἐνεπίμπρασαν xviii. 169, which the editor praises so unreservedly in the review above referred to, is merely appended with a *recte, ut opinor*. Room might perhaps have been found for Dr. Sandys's αὐτὸ μέντοι τοῦτο v. 23, and οὐχ ὅπως for οὐ μόνον ἢ δὴ πάρεστιν viii. 51; Dr. Sandys first suggested printing παντὶ σθένει κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν iii. 6 as a virtual quotation; and has thrown just suspicion on the phrase τῶν ἐν Θράκῃ κακῶν viii. 44 in the sense of 'miserable villages,' which is here accepted without remark. Mr. Butcher makes several suggestions of his own, almost all of which are convincing. On vii. 31 μὴ μόνον ἡμᾶς he notes 'μὴ ἡμᾶς μὲν malim.' At viii. 29 his ταῦτ' ἔστιν (for ταῦτ' ἔστιν S, ταῦτ' ἔστιν ἰκανά vulg.) seems not so good as Blass's ταῦτ' ἔστιν. At viii. 63 the first ἀπεστέρησθε is well obelized as a ditto-graphy from two lines below which does not fit the sense: ix. 7 ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτο το πολεμῆν δεῖ is bracketed: xiv. 11 τοὺς ὁμολογουμένως ἐχθροὺς for ὁμολογουμένους and ὁμολογοῦντας: xviii. 262 [ἐκείνοις] ὑποκριταῖς with one MS.:

since in a similar context, xxi. 133 our MSS. give πότερ' εἰσίν. But even if hiatus damns πότεροι, πότερον may well be right. At ix. 7 Mr. Butcher passes πότερον εἰρήνην without appending Dr. Blass's correction πότερ' εἰρήνην, but brackets the whole sentence.

¹ Mr. Butcher follows Dr. Blass at xix. 191 in reading πότερ' οὖν...παρέβαινον for MSS. πότερον, πότεροι,

ib. 312 πλεῖν ἢ for πλείονων ἢ (Weil's πλείονων <όντων> ἢ being noted as a possible alternative): xix. 244 θεωρήσον ὥς εἴσει without a comma before ὥς, cf xxiv. 146: ib. 266 οὐδ' [εἶχεν] ὃ τι πρῶτον: ib. 279 'ἐλέγχειν S (me teste): ἐξελέγχειν codd. cett. et edd. omnes.' At xix. 257 S is vindicated from error: 'προείλετο (not προείλετε) S (me teste).'

But in the main, Mr. Butcher holds that textual criticism of Demosthenes is at a standstill, until fresh material is forthcoming 'ex Aegyptia tellure.' The papyrus finds have already given us about 18 §§ of the speeches in this volume, and show one or two unique readings. Of these the editor might perhaps have accepted xviii. 42 ἐκείνῳ for the troublesome τῷ Φιλίππῳ, instead of omitting both from the text; a dative is wanted (to explain μισθωσάντων ἑαυτοῖς and to balance ἐμῶν in the following phrase), though not the proper name, which has occurred just before. Perhaps also xviii. 228 μὴ τοιαύτης ὑπαρχούσης ὑπολήψεως is to be preferred to the clumsy μὴ τοιαύτης οὔσης τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ὑπολήψεως: the papyrus version resembles those terser and neater variants for which, as Mr. Butcher points out, we are often indebted to S.

On the general question of papyrus evidence Mr. Butcher makes some interesting remarks.

The Demosthenic fragments support no one MS. or family, and warn us against ascribing sacrosanctity to S; but they are on the whole in remarkable agreement with our best copies. For some thousand years the text seems to have been practically unchanged. Yet it is interesting to note that Mr. Butcher does not use the papyri as a ground for denying corruption, and particularly interpolation, altogether. Much, he admits, has been foisted into the text by misguided editors, or by careless scribes incorporating marginal notes. But we now learn that this took place not in Roman but in Alexandrian or even earlier times. We have the paradox (so Mr. Butcher concludes) that precisely when the study of Demosthenes was most flourishing in the schools of rhetoric, these misplaced attentions to his text were nearly at an end. Moreover 'interpolator ille, Byzantinus magistellus,' stands almost acquitted. And the same is proved by the papyri for other authors: 'uel infimae aetatis homines haud indiligenter tradita conseruasse.'

We are most grateful to Mr. Butcher for this instalment of his work. It is to be hoped that the claims of public life will not interfere with its completion.

H. RACKHAM.

SHORT NOTICES

De Romanorum Juris Publici Sacrique Vocabulis Sollemnibus in Graecum Sermonem Conversis scripsit DAVID MAGIE. Teubner, 1905. Pp. 182. M. 6.

THE attention of scholars is called to this book which provides an important help to more than one branch of study. Nearly all of it is taken up with classified indices to published inscriptions and texts, under the following heads: (1) Senatus Populusque Romanus, (2) Imperatores et Domus Imperatoria, Ministri Domus Augustae, (3) Magistratus Ordinis Senatorii, (4) Magistratus et Officia Dignitatis Equestris, (5) Apparitores et Servi Publici, (6) Res Militares, (7) Res Sacrae, (8) Ludi et Feriae. Under each head, the Latin titles are given with the various Greek equivalents. An intro-

duction of 40 pages treats De Officiorum Comparatione, De Vocum Interpretatione, De Vocabulorum Transcriptione. The authorities include all the standard collections of inscriptions, together with the historians. Only prolonged use can decide whether the indices be complete; but in any case they will save great labour to the historical student, and incidentally they throw light on Greek and Latin pronunciation.

Die Italischen Rundbauten. Eine archäologische Studie, von WALTER ALTMANN. Berlin: Weidmann, 1906. 9¼" × 6¼". Pp. 102. With twenty cuts in text. M. 3.

DR. ALTMANN has given in this monograph a useful and instructive survey of the independent development of the circular build-

ing in Italy from pre-historic times to the end of the Roman Empire, not ignoring its influence on the Italy of the medieval period and Renaissance. Beginning with the round huts of the Neolithic and Early Bronze Ages (Terramare civilisation) he shows the tendency of the time to reproduce in its sepulchral arrangements the forms of the dwellings: whence the hut urns of the Villanuova period, in which may be discerned the transition to the rectangular form of building. The early circular buildings of Rome, of which the Casa Romuli and the Temple of Vesta are examples, were nothing more than wattle-and-dab huts with thatched roofs. In the Imperial period the vaulted dome takes the place of the thatched roof, rectangular excrescences are added at the sides, and thus a development of which the Pantheon is the first example may be traced in the early Christian churches, which (it may be added) in our own day finds an effective illustration in Wren's St. Stephen's, Walbrook.

Hat Dorpfeld die Enneakrounos-Episode bei Pausanias tatsächlich gelöst, oder auf welchem Wege kann diese gelöst werden?
Von ALEXANDER MALININ. Wien: Alfred Holder, 1906. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. 36. M. 1.

Has Dr. Dorpfeld really succeeded in explaining the 'Enneakrounos episode' in Pausanias, or has Herr Malinin? That is the question which the latter essays to answer,

and in opposition to the now generally-received views of the former he stoutly maintains the original theory that the Enneakrounos must be sought on the south-east rather than the south-west of the Acropolis. As he points out, it is obvious that in the received text of Pausanias the spring is described out of its proper place (as is the temple of Eukleia); but we can only guess that the right place for the Enneakrounos is in the description of Agrae in south-east Athens, and the author's arguments seem hardly strong enough to prove his case.

Eleusis, her Mysteries, Ruins, and Museums.

Translated from the French of DEMETRIOS PHILIOS by HAMILTON GATLIFF. London: Sidney Appleton, 1906. 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". Pp. 80.

With plan and eight plates. 5s. net.

This little book gives a very interesting summary of all that is known (since the recent excavations) of Eleusis and its famous mysteries. The scope of its contents is indicated by the title, and to these three main headings is added a preliminary chapter on the history of the site. M. Philios has done his part in a scholarly and readable manner, and the translation is satisfactory. But there is no index or table of contents. 'Agyroms' on p. 14 is an unfortunate misprint, and the spelling 'Keryces' (p. 11) is difficult to defend on any obvious theory.

H. B. W.

REPORTS

OXFORD PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.—MICHAELMAS TERM, 1906.

OCT. 26. At Lincoln College. Prof. GARDNER exhibited and explained some charts designed to illustrate the commercial history of Greece.

Nov. 2. At Trinity College. Prof. ELLIS read a paper of Emendations in the Text of the *Historiae Augustae Scriptores*. [Published in *Hermathena*.]

Nov. 9. At St. John's College. Mr. POWELL read a paper on 'A suggested restoration of *C. I. A.* 442 (Hicks and Illi², no. 54) and its connexion with Pericles' Funeral Oration in Thucydides ii. 35 sqq.' Mr. GARROD contributed some emendations in the text of Lucan, Statius, and Seneca.

A restoration of the first four lines of the inscription was given, based upon the letters, now lost, of Fauvel's copy:

'Αθανάτομ με θα[νούσιν Ἀθηναίοις, ἐθέλουσα]
σημαίνειν ἀρετ[ήν, μνήμ' ἐπέθηκε πόλις].
καὶ προγόνους θέμις [ἐστὶν ἐπαινεῖν, οἱ κομίσαντες]
νίκην εὐπόλεμον μνήμ' ἔλ[αβον φ]θ[ίμενοι].

Previous restorations were discussed: the best restoration of the first two lines was Hoffmann's, with the necessary alteration of ἀνέθηκαν to ἐπέθηκαν, and the substitution of μνήμα for σῆμα (cf. Bergk *Anthol. Lyr.* 97. 6). No restoration of line

3 based upon the word *σθέρος* (for ΘΕΝΕΣ) was possible, because that would require the preceding word to be *προγόνων*, and there is no room for the N on the marble: O in the inscription may represent O, OT, Ω, and as *πρόγονος* is impossible, the word must be *προγόνους*. For *κοιμίζω*, cf. Hicks and Hill, no. 46, and Pind. *Nem.* 2. 19. In line 4, the fragmentary letter towards the end of the line appears from the transcript in Hicks (*Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, p. 102) not to be Φ, because in the other place in the inscription where Φ is found, ΦΣΤΝΑΣ for ΨΤΝΑΣ, the circle is smaller and higher than the traces of the letter here. It must be O or Θ. For ΘΘΙΜΕΝΟΙ cf. Simon. 50. Pomtow. There was a similarity between the order of ideas in the inscription and the Funeral Speech: the mention of *πρόγονοι* in both immediately after the exordium; the *ἀρεταί* of the fallen: the topic of grief and consolation. The question then was: did the word *ποθεῖν* in the Inscription support Marchant's suggestion *χαλεπὸν οἶδ' αὖ μὴ ποθεῖν* in Thuc. ii. 44. 2. From the usage of the other *λόγοι ἐπιτάφιοι*, we should expect it in this; or even perhaps *χαλεπὸν ποθεῖν*, an idea also suggested by Mr. Snow in discussion. There is no reason to doubt that Thucydides saw the inscription, for he was at Athens about this time: the dry sarcasm about *ἐλπίς* in l. 9, and the Anaxagorean touch of *αἰθὴρ μὲν ψυχὰς ὑπέδεξατο* were congenial to his temper. From the resemblances between the Inscription and the Speech, it was probable that *πέθειν* was a corruption of *ποθεῖν*.

Lucan i. 566. *inguenque notantis* (cf. Stat. *Theb.* 5. 316 crit. not.).

Lucan ii. 126. *vitiatore* (cf. Sen. *H. F.* 104 crit. not.).

Statius: *Silv.* i. 6. 64. *mirantur mage pumilos feroces*.

Statius: *Silv.* ii. 6. 48. *iam pudor (unde?) novae mentis* (cf. *Theb.* 8. 627).

Seneca: *Medea* 142. *uulneri pateat meo* (cf. 553, 559).

Seneca: *Oed.* 424. *decutere* (cf. *Oed.* 97, 302, critt. nott.).

Seneca: *Oed.* 501. *electus orbem specimini sacro regis* ('preferred to a sacred dignity (cf. *Thyestes* 223) thou governest the world').

Seneca: *Troades* 852. 'Atticam pensans Pēparethus oram' (cf. Ovid *Met.* 7. 470).

Seneca: *Oed.* 309. *arasque dona turis eri strue*. (The reff. in Seneca are to Peiper and Richter, ed. i.)

Nov. 16. At St. John's College. Dr. ADAM of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, read a paper on 'The Doctrine of the *λόγος* in Heraclitus.'

Nov. 23. At Balliol College. Mr. J. A. SMITH read a paper on 'The history and meaning of the *τρίτος ἄνθρωπος* argument.'

Nov. 30. At Exeter College. Dr. FARNELL read a paper on 'The *λαμπαδηφορία* in connection with the cult of Hephaistos.'

F. W. HALL, *Hon. Sec.*

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CAMBRIDGE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

THE following papers, with others which have no bearing on Classical Studies, were read before the Society in the Michaelmas term of 1906:—

Oct. 25. Dr. J. P. POSTGATE on 'More Uncanny Thirteens': published in the *Classical Review*, 1906, p. 443.

Mr. R. D. HICKS contributed notes by Mr. F. M. CORNFORD and himself on Aristotle *De Anima*. Mr. Cornford defended the text of the manuscripts at 425 a 15 and 430 b 2. In 429 b 31 in place of *δεῖ δ' οὕτως* he proposed to read *δυνάμει δ' οὕτως*, picking up the *δυνάμει* of the previous clause, 'δυνάμει, in the sense that.' He considered the present order of the sentences in the passage 431 a 12—20, *καὶ ἡ φυγὴ . . . αὐτῇ πλείω*, unsatisfactory. The three sentences a 14 *τῇ δὲ διανοητικῇ ψυχῇ . . . 17 ἡ ψυχὴ* are parenthetical, and he felt inclined to transpose them to the beginning of the next paragraph, to precede *τὰ μὲν οὖν εἶδη* 431 b 2. Omitting the words for the moment, the meaning is as follows: (1) a 12 *καὶ ἡ φυγὴ . . . 14 ἀλλὰ τὸ εἶναι ἄλλο* explains that the faculty of desire and aversion is one faculty and only logically different from the faculty of sense; (2) a 17 *ὥσπερ δὲ ὁ ἄνθρωπος κτέ.* states that, as there is one ultimate sensorium (*τὸ ἴσχατον*) which receives impressions by different channels from different special senses, so also there is one *μεσότης* (such as is required for pleasure and pain) which, although one, is *πλείω*

τῷ εἶναι. In this sentence the apodosis begins with *καὶ μία μεσότης*. The sentences in parenthesis merely interpret the remark that, as *αἰσθήματα* are to the sensitive faculty, so are *φαντάσματα* to intellect. In 431 b 8 he thought it possible that we should read *ὅταν εἴπῃ ὡς ἐκεῖ τὸ δὴ ἢ δὴ ἡ λυπηρόν*, 'and, when it affirms that "in that former case this was pleasant or painful," in the present case it avoids or pursues it.' Perhaps also *ἦν* should be inserted after *λυπηρόν*. It would easily drop out after *λυπηρόν* and before *ἐνταῦθα*. Lastly, in place of 434 a 11 *αὕτη δὲ ἐκείνην* he suggested *αὕτη δὲ κινεῖ* (comparing a 19 *αὕτη κινεῖ ἡ δόξα*) and *ὅτε δὲ κινεῖ γ' αὐτήν* in 434 a 13 in place of *ὅτε δ' ἐκείνη ταύτην*.

Mr. Hicks discussed the perception of the common sensibles, shewing, that the ordinary interpretation of Book II. c. 6 and III. c. 1 requires modification in detail. In regard to 429 b 31 he argued in favour of Mr. Cornford's emendation (1) that *δεῖ* is admitted by palaeographers to have been sometimes a compendium for *δυνάμει*; (2) that the ordinary interpretation of *δεῖ*, whether *ὑπολαβεῖν* or *συμβαίνειν* be understood, is unsatisfactory; (3) that no support for *δεῖ* can be obtained from the ancient commentators.

Mr. E. HARRISON pointed out that in Andocides ii. 11 *πλέον ἢ ὕσσυ ἐμοί κατέστησαν* it is possible to take *ἐμοί* as an adjective, thus removing the only

known evidence for καθίστασθαι meaning 'to cost' (Liddell and Scott *s.v.* καθίστημι B 7).

Nov. 8. Dr. W. G. HEADLAM read papers on Aristophanes *Knights* 755 and Aeschylus *Seven against Thebes* 202-4.—Ar. *Eg.* 754 ὅταν δ' ἐπὶ ταυτοῖ καθῆται τῆς πέτρας (δὲ Δῆμος), κέχνηεν ὥσπερ ἐμποδίζων ἰσχάδας, 'but when once he takes his seat upon this rock, he gapes as though hindering figs.' Some of the critics have forgotten that ἰσχάδες were dried figs (ἰσχνός), and no more grew upon a tree than raisins did. Moreover, figs themselves, when they are full-ripe, burst and gape: and the technical word for this was κεχνηέναι (Marc. Anton. iii. 2, Nicephorus *Walz Rhét.* I. 523, schol. Aesch. *Agam.* 497, Hesych. κεχνάνια σῦκα). Evidently nothing could be more natural to say than 'gapes like a burst fig,' σῦκον κεχνηός: and Aristophanes has used the comparison in a metaphor before, *v.* 259 κάποσσυκάξεις πείζων τοὺς ὑπευθύνους, σκοπῶν ὅστις αὐτῶν ὥμος ἐστίν, ἢ πέπων ἢ μὴ πέπων· κἂν τιν' αὐτῶν γνῶς ἀπράγμων' ὄντα καὶ κεχνηότα. . . Since a fig which has once burst is of course no longer suitable for drying, a subtle and humorous variation of the same comparison is 'gapes as though—hindering dried figs' (τὰ ἐμποδίζοντα τοὺς καρποὺς ἀφαιρεῖν Theophrast. *de caus. plant.* iii. 7. 6).

Aesch. *Theb.* 202 ET. πύργον στέγειν εἴχεσθε πολέμιον δόρυ· οὐκοῦν τὰδ' ἔσται πρὸς θεῶν· ἀλλ' οὖν θεοὺς τοὺς τῆς ἀλούσης πόλεος ἐκλείπειν λόγος. The difficulty is to translate this in harmony with Eteocles' argument, with the meaning of the particles, and with the order of the words. Feeling that οὐκοῦν τὰδ' ἔσται πρὸς θεῶν, was the argument of the Chorus, editors used commonly to give these words to them; but it is now recognised that here, as throughout the passage, the Chorus' lyric argument is replied to by three lines from Eteocles. It was proposed to take εἴχεσθε as indicative, and explain as follows: 'You are making prayers that the walls may be proof against the foe's spear? Very well, that shall doubtless turn out so, by the granting of the Gods: but all the same, remember that when a city is taken, her Gods, as we are told, desert. (Very well, if that is your prayer, God helps those who help themselves; when a city is taken, they desert; therefore we must defend the walls; that is the way to bring your prayer about.) Τὰδ' ἔσται on this view is a formula of assuring confidence, as in Aristotle's will, Diog. Laert. v. 1. 11 ἔσται μὲν εἴ· ἐὰν δέ τι συμβαίῃ, and 12 ἐὰν δέ τι συμβαίῃ—δὲ μὴ γένοιτο, οὐδ' ἔσται, 'Eur.' *frag.* 953. 27, Plat. *Legg.* 918 D, Dem. 581. 22, 102. 20 ἀ μῆτε γένοιτ' οὔτε λέγειν ἄξιον, Eur. *Ion* 456 εἰ δ'—οὐ γὰρ ἔσται, τῷ λόγῳ δὲ χρῆσθαι—*Supp.* 604 γένοιτ' ἂν κέρδος· εἰ δ' . . . , Theocrit. vii. 52, Aesch. *Supp.* 737 ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἔσται τῶνδε, μὴ τρέσθητι νῦν.

Nov. 22. Dr. A. W. VERRALL read a paper on the crux in Dante (*Inferno* I. 70) respecting the date of the birth of Virgil: 'Nacqui sub Iulio, ancorchè fosse tardi,' 'I was born sub Iulio, though it was late.' The *prima facie* meaning of this sentence, taken alone, is that Virgil was born before, but only a little before, the end of the life and reign of Julius

Caesar, *i.e.* about 45 B.C. But this is not only false (the true date being 70 B.C.), but plainly inconsistent with the rest of Virgil's biography as here given and interpreted by Dante.

The suggestion offered was that Dante here refers to a speculation, by himself or some contemporary, respecting the *true* season of Virgil's birth, as distinct from the traditional time as given according to the unreformed calendar. The interest then taken in calendrical problems, especially in connexion with astrology and nativities, would make such a speculation natural and important. Tradition gives the day as the 15th of October. But the Roman calendar was then *late* by almost exactly three months, the product of accumulated error, and remained so till the reformation of it by Julius Caesar, in honour of which his name was given to his native month—July. Consequently, Virgil's birth presumably occurred three months earlier (according to the true and natural year) than tradition says, that is to say, in the seventh (not the tenth) month, the month afterwards dedicated to Julius.

It seems that such a view of the facts, if Dante could assume it as generally known, might very well be summarized by the words 'I was born under [the sign of] Julius, though [the month] was belated.'

An important point in this connexion is the sense of the following words: 'I lived at Rome under the good Augustus, in the time of the false and lying Gods.' This description signifies the Roman emperors (especially Julius and Augustus) and refers to the false worship of the emperors, first established in Virgil's time and partly by his powerful assistance. To this error Virgil confesses, when he declares himself to have been a rebel against 'the Emperor (Christ) who reigns above.' With a view to this, any association between Virgil and the first of these emperors and false deities was for Dante a point of importance. He supposed himself to have found such a link in the true month of Virgil's birth, coinciding (not accidentally, he would suppose, but providentially) with that destined to bear the name of Julius.

Mrs. WEDD read a paper on the word αὐθέντης. She suggested that the word is derived from a by-form of the substantive verb (cf. Latin *sons*), that it is therefore = *the man himself*, and that its recognised meaning of 'murderer of a kinsman' arose in circumstances such as those represented in the *Oresteia*, where the victim's next of kin is likewise the murderer. Thus Orestes is αὐθέντης in relation to Clytemnestra, Agamemnon is αὐθέντης in relation to Iphigenia, Heracles is αὐθέντης in relation to his children. She maintained that the vengeance of the Erinyes was originally restricted to cases where the normal vengeance was not forthcoming. In the *Eumenides* they insist (l. 260 and *passim*) that their function is to champion three classes—*θεοί*, *ξένοι*, *τοκεῖς*: these three classes being obviously unable to avenge themselves—*gods*, because they cannot do so without incurring pollution; *strangers*, because they are separated from their next of kin; *parents*, because their next of kin is himself the guilty one, the αὐθέντης, the man himself.

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The Classical Review

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ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

LATIN AND POLITICS.

‘THE world has lost its respect for antiquity as an ideal : but it has learnt to recognise a vital growth of culture through some fifteen hundred years, which is not only the source of our own, but in a sense its parallel.’

So wrote Prof. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff in the paper which appears in the February *Classical Review*, and a better text could hardly be found for the subject which I have the opportunity of introducing here. It is true that the distinguished German professor is speaking of Greek ; but the principles on which the general study of Latin can be defended must to a large extent be the same, though the stress that will here be laid on politics indicates that Latin is not without special claims of its own. Let me venture then to quote further from the same source : ‘we do not want learned men, but an intellectual *élite*, leaders of the people in any station of life to which they may be called.’ Here, in a few words, we have stated the problem which meets us, in connexion with Latin, in English grammar and secondary schools. Is the teaching of Latin an essential part of the proper training of an educated man, and, if so, within what limits and with what aims is Latin to be generally taught ?

The problem pauses for solution ; but the pause is not the solution. For four hundred years Latin has been taught in this country to make the Latinist ; for half a century it

has been pushed into the background by the enthusiasm of scientific discovery. Between these two forces we find now in existence every variety of compromise : Latin begun later, Latin ended earlier, Latin studied for fewer hours, Latin optional altogether. Now for the moment the wave of scientific depreciation of classical study has spent itself ; it has broken against the irresistible logic of experience. The boy who is brought up without Latin has not proved in the end so good a linguist, so good an historian, nor even so good a scientific investigator, as one who has had a classical training ; and the most ardent men of science therefore admit that that training has a real value, and are willing for the moment to give it a place in the curriculum of the secondary school. Their reasons for doing so are various, and some of them will hardly commend themselves to the readers of this *Review*. That Latin *as an acquisition* is worthless is still generally maintained ; but it is allowed to have an educational value either because the methods of teaching it have been perfected (save the mark !) by long experience, or because it is useful to learn what is useless, if only it is hard enough, or because play is better than work, and boys can play more readily with words than with scientific facts.

Friends of classical education will hardly be content to accept the present truce as a

peace: still less can they be content to see Latin (to which I refer in this article more particularly) treated as a mere temporary stop-gap in the educational system. But there is no denying the fact that in the vast majority of instances boys, even if they rise by its means to greater things, throw aside in later life the Latin ladder without regret. We shall therefore do well to put our house in order whilst we may, and to attempt to establish the position of Latin on a sure basis. To re-establish Latin as the medium of communication, even amongst the learned, seems to be an impracticable dream. It remains to assert its value as a stage in evolutionary culture. The change is great, but it is not revolutionary. The renaissance looked on classical learning as an ideal, because it had everything to learn from it in art, in science, and in philosophy. We have now advanced further; but the advance is not secure unless the succeeding generations can travel quickly along the path on which their predecessors have slowly moved forward.

For all this the change in the modern point of view calls for a very large remodelling of the methods and aims of school teaching in Latin. This remodelling is slowly and in detail taking place under the pressure of circumstances: I shall endeavour to indicate the point of view from which, as it seems to me, these changes may attain to something like unity.

Let us face the conditions under which Latin will have to be taught in future. It will be begun later than now, for the teaching of French must necessarily precede it, and must also be carried to some completeness before a new language is introduced: it will end at the same time as at present, that is, for the great majority of those who learn it, at some point between the ages of sixteen and seventeen. It must be taught by those who take a real interest in it; and this can hardly be said at present of all classical teachers, so far as can be judged by the time they devote to their own continued study of the subject. It must have a value as an acquisition, not necessarily in the eyes of the boy when he learns it, but at least in the judgment of the mature man when he looks back to his school days. All these conditions

can, I suggest, be satisfied, if school Latin is treated as an education in politics.

Every grown man realizes the advantages of a competent political judgment. Most British citizens turn to their newspapers conscientiously each morning to make sure that the Constitution has not gone wrong whilst they have been sleeping. If they do not aspire to be Members of Parliament, they will certainly take an interest in voting for them. Apart from politics as ordinarily understood, there remains the much wider field of politics in the broader sense. The work of the County Council, the Corporation, the Board of Guardians, the club, the charitable society, everywhere involves the application of political principles to immediate issues. That a training in mathematics or physical science affords but the scantiest help to such work is so obvious as hardly to need statement: for it is not merely requisite to discover the right course to be pursued, but to understand and treat considerately all the various motives and passions which influence the conduct of individuals when united, freely or by compulsion, for social purposes. Of all peoples known to history the Romans were evidently the most successful in persuading, organizing, and regulating large masses of their fellow-men. Through the sympathetic study of their literature lies the most probable line of access to the secret of their power.

It may be that to many classical teachers Latin literature presents itself as a collection of second-rate books, of which the interest has long been exhausted. I doubt whether it can appear so to any who, by taking an interest in the affairs of their own locality, obtain a daily dip in the waters of civil strife. The stiff aristocrats and the mobile mobs of Livy become very real to the man who lives amongst their counterparts in the modern world, and it is still not easy to find an ideal more readily attractive to the school-boy than Virgil's *vir pietate gravis*, at whose appearance civil strife is hushed.

If political insight becomes the direct aim of Latin school studies, it is clear that the matter of the books is of more importance than their form. How little of that matter ever enters now into the comprehension of

the school-boy there is no need to ask; yet the amount that claims his attention is not really formidable. If our school books only ceased continually to divert his mind to a thousand points of archaeology, mythology, and geography, which are the proper province of the Latinist, but are of very slight concern to the citizen, and allowed him to concentrate it upon the main human interest of Roman history, interpreted in the light of Roman poetry and philosophy, its range would perhaps not be excessive for the four or five years of the school course in which Latin may still look forward to be the central subject of study. Already in more quarters than one the idea is gaining ground that the best Latin authors only, and the best works of those authors, must be selected, combined and even simplified so as to form a complete scheme of reading within the ordinary school course.

But even from the point of view of politics the Latin course must never become a mere acquisition of knowledge. In the doctrine that Latin is 'playing with words' is latent a vital educational principle, and the phrase needs to be realized in its best sense. Words are the instruments of all thought, but in particular they are the tools of the politician: by their means he not only understands and learns, but instructs and convinces. The teaching of grammar is the special privilege of the classical master. No sooner has his pupil an interest in his subject, than he must learn to state his facts clearly, to express his feelings with warmth, to point out the right course of action with conviction. All this can be better learnt through Latin than through English, and therefore Latin composition will still have its place, though it can never again have the same importance as the

power of correct and forcible expression in English. Not the least noble of the Latin teacher's duties is the maintenance of the pure spring of English undefiled. He has perhaps not greatly distinguished himself in the past by his attention to this point; yet if he were to make the experiment of addressing an audience of working men in the *patois* which he allows to pass muster in the classroom, he would realize what an opportunity he is losing. It is unhappily an English affectation to despise 'rhetoric': hence the *vir bonus dicendi peritus* is rare amongst us. But 'after all,' as the writer I have already quoted expresses himself, 'language is the most wonderful creation of human genius'; and the more highly we rate the importance of politics and its handmaidens history and literature, the more we shall be likely to insist on the necessity of keeping well furnished the implement by which each of the three is shaped. On this point I am inclined to lay the more stress because it appears to me that amongst some advocates of the reform of Latin teaching the importance of grammar and composition is hardly sufficiently recognized.

In conclusion I would say that in indicating the general character of the course which suggests itself as suitable for the ordinary school-boy, I do not forget the boy who may later on specialize in classics. But it appears to me that either this course will suit him excellently as a foundation for his higher studies, or his special capacity will enable him to make good any slight hindrance which one or more features in it may present to him. If he has acquired a genuine interest in his subject he has the root of the matter in him.

E. V. ARNOLD.

LATIN INFLUENCE ON GREEK ORTHOGRAPHY.

THE Latin vocabulary occurring in Greek inscriptions and papyri naturally consists chiefly of proper names and such military, administrative, and other terms as denote

institutions or features peculiar to Roman life and history, *e.g.* *Ῥωμύλος, Κάτων, Καῖσαρ, πραιτωρ, κεντυρίων, λεγεών, κεντυρία, εἰδοί, δεκέμβριος, δηνάριον, κομέτιον*, etc.

Now if we collect all this Latin stock¹ and subject it to a critical examination, we shall find that its Greek garb follows certain historical and grammatical principles.

IRRELEVANT CASES.

(1) *Blunders.*

However, in order to arrive at safe results, we must begin by eliminating such elements—mostly very late—as obviously betoken either manifest blunders, as Σέμβριος for Σεπτέμβριος 127; Φλονάβιος for Flavius 17; 'Ιούλιος for Julius 47; 'Οαντρανός for Veteranus 99; Σεκοινίδος for Secundinus 127;—or exhibit merely cases of literal transcription, e.g. ἱμπετρατους, ἡγένουons. ΔιρίλιVs, 'ΑέλιVs, ΜάρκVs, ΕἰοῦλιVs, ΟἰᾶρVs, αἰρικεσώριβους 137, βιξιλατιώνων (about 253 A.D.) κόζους (coniuX) 80, Βαλεντιανήσιου 116, φηλικίσιμος 119, κοιαίστωρ 125, ἡμινότεμ (eminentem) 128, 'Ηρκουλᾶνος and 'Ερκούλιος 76, 'Ιούβενις 77, προτομαίστωρ 130 (1172 A.D.), πάτρονς (patruus) 76, Νίγερ 130, Κέλερ 130, Φοῦμερ 130, Ποῦλχερ and Πόλχερ 130, τῆς χῶρτις (cohortis) 136, Οἰένερις 136, Φόρτι and Μαρτιάλι 137, φράτρεμ, ἀρουᾶλεμ, eximi-ουμ and -ουν, (ῶ) 'Αντῶνι, 'Ιοῦλι, Καικίλι 136, (τῶν) ἐπουλῶνουμ and -ώνων 136, κουαττόρουριον (quattuorvirum) 72, τεσσαράρῶρουμ 136, -ἐξ ὀρδεναρίῳ (ex ordinario) 138, πρίδιε νόνας Αἰγούστας ἐν πριγκεῖσις GUB² 140, etc.

(2) *Hybrid Forms.*

Equally irrelevant are such hybrid forms as ὀρρεοπραιποσιτία (horreorum praefectura) 140, δεκυρεύσας 139, κοιρατορεύοντος 138, ἐπερλιμιτάνης (translimitanus) 140, etc.

For in all these and such like cases of transcription which mostly indicate localisms, we can trace the authorship back to some foreign (Roman) scribe or to some servile Graeculus or petty officer eager to burn incense to his Roman patrons. All these

and such like cases, therefore, must be discounted as having little or no bearing upon the broad principle generally followed by the Greeks in grecizing Roman words.

(3) *Transliterations.*

We must further eliminate as irrelevant all such cases as betoken the opposite tendency. I mean by this the purist tendency noticeable among certain scribes through all periods of antiquity of simply *translating* the names of Roman men and institutions, and thus rendering their Latin parentage almost irre-cognizable. On this purist principle we find Σεβαστός for *Augustus*, Μέγας for (Cn. Pompeius) *Magnus*, Μέλας for (M. Aurelius) *Niger*, σύγκλητος for *senatus*, ἕπατος for *consul*, παρεμβολή for *castra*, φροντιστής for *curator*, θησαυρός for *horrea*, ἐκατόνταρχος for *centurio*, etc.

A.—HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT.

(1) *Hellenizing Principle.*

On the other hand, if we examine all the rest of the Latin stock found in Greek inscriptions and papyri, we shall find that the Greeks, when they first became acquainted with Rome in the third century B.C., acting as it appears on a national spirit, grecized the names of Roman men and institutions by modifying the internal as well as the terminal constitution of such foreign elements, and by adapting them to the spirit and genius of their native (Greek) tongue. On this *Hellenizing* principle we find:—'Ρώμη for *Roma*, 'Ρωμύλος for *Romulus*, 'Ρωμαῖος for *Romanus*, Σπινθῆρ for *Spinter* (end of third century B.C.), Κόϊντος for *Quintus* (since 250 or 206 B.C.), Λεύκιος for *Lucius* third century B.C.), Σπόριος for *Spurius* (250 B.C.), Βίβιος (185–80 B.C.), Λέντολος and Λέντελος for *Lentulus* (169 B.C.), Νομίσιος for *Numisius* (170 B.C.), 'Απόλλιος for *Appuleius* (120–95 B.C.), 'Ανθέστιος and 'Ανθίστιος for *Antistius* (6 B.C.), Κησορίνος and Κησωρεῖνος *Censorinus* (39 and 36 B.C.), Κλήμης for *Clemens*, 'Απρος ('Απρου, 'Απρω) for *Aper*, Κυρήνιος for *Quirinius*, Σκενᾶς for *Saena*, Φρούριος for *Furius* (p. 108), Ναάτου for *Novati* (p. 58), etc., etc.—then νόμος for *nummus* (third century B.C.), λέντιον for *linteum*, χόρτη and χῶρτη for *cohors* (*cors*),

¹ The inscriptional material, carefully collected and conveniently put together in a different sense and for a different purpose, is contained in Th. Eckinger's pamphlet *die Orthographie Lateinischer Wörter in Griechischen Inschriften* (München, [1892]), to which booklet (141 pp.) I refer once for all in order to save time and space and to avoid needless and disturbing repetition by constant reference to the same source.

² *Griechische Urkunden zu Berlin.*

πάτρων for *patronus* (from 150 B.C. to the third century A.D.), etc.

(2) *Principle of Accommodation.*

As time went on and Greece felt more and more the mighty sway and rule of the Romans, Greek scribes gradually began to adopt the principle of *accommodation* or *compromise*, as far as such a principle was compatible with the phonetic laws of their own language. On this accommodating principle, they generally tolerated the internal constitution of a foreign word, but regularly greecized its terminal part or ending. Thus we find in this period of compromise:—

Λουκρήτιος (± 15 B.C.), Κῦντος and Κόϊντος for *Quintus*, Ἀπούλῃος or Ἀπουλήϊος (15 B.C.), κεντορίων and κεντριών for *centurio* (25 and 16 B.C.), Λούκιος for *Lucius* (since 135 B.C.), Οὐάρρων for *Vurro* (73 B.C.), Φούλβιος (86 B.C.), Βαλέριος and Οὐαλέριος for *Valerius* (from second century B.C.), Σερονίλιος and Σερβήλιος, Οὐάλῃς and Βάλῃς for *Valens*, Σέξιτος for *Sextus*, Καλπούρνιος and Καλοπόρνιος and Καλπόρνιος for *Calpurnius*, Κανόλῃος or -λήϊος for *Canuleius* (± 10 B.C.), Λούκουλλος for *Lucullus*, Φονδάνιος for *Fundanius* (81 B.C.), Φόσκος and Φούσκος for *Fuscus*, Σολπίκιος, Τυρράνιος and Τυρράνιος, Τούλλιος and Τέλλιος;—τύρμη for *turma* (84 A.D.), βετερανίος and βετρανός for *veteranus*, τίτλος for *titulus*, πραιτώριον, μάγιστρος for *magister*, etc. This spirit of reconciliation is, moreover, shown by the mutual exchange of proper names between the two nations, as we see it done even among literary celebrities, e.g. Ἀδριανός, Λουκιανός, Βάβριος, Κλαύδιος (Πτολεμαῖος), Φαβωρίνος, Οὐλπιανός, Λογγῖνος, Κεκίλιος, Κόϊντος (Σμυρναῖος), Κλαύδιος Αἰλιανός (Ἀριστείδης) Κοῖντιλιανός, etc.—*Herodes Atticus*, (Clodius) *Aesopus*, (C. Julius) *Hyginus*, *Phaedrus*, etc.

B.—LINGUISTIC PRINCIPLES.

So far, then, the preceding survey illustrates the *historical* side of the question. Now, if we examine the material from a purely linguistic point of view, we shall find that here the Greeks follow a threefold practice:

(1) the *grammatical* (properly morphological) principle;

(2) the *graphic* principle, whereby each Latin letter is mechanically copied, or rendered by its corresponding Greek symbol; and

(3) the *phonetic* principle.

As a matter of course, in a great many cases the line is very difficult to draw, inasmuch as two or even all three principles may be simultaneously at work. However, the general results are fairly certain, and those applying to the Latin letter V (*v*, *u*), exhibit some curious and instructive phenomena.

There is hardly room for doubt that in earlier Greek the vowel V or Y corresponded, both graphically and phonetically, to the Latin V with three important limitations.

(a) Whereas Greek V or Y occurred almost always as a pure *vowel* (*u*), Latin acted both as a pure vowel *u* (as *urbs multus*) and as a semi-vowel or semi-consonant *u* (as *volo*, *vulgus*, *navis*).

(b) While in Latin the *oo*-sound was invariably expressed by V (*u*), in Greek that same sound was expressed less commonly by V (Υ) than by the simple vowel O, as the original representative first of the so-called spurious (hysteroogeneous) but very common diphthong OY, and then of the genuine or original OY (as ΔΟΛΟΣ = δοῦλος, where *o* stands for genuine *ou*). That this double function of Greek O (as *ou* and *oy* or *u* and *o*) continued in post-classical antiquity, when the Greeks came into contact with the Romans, appears from numerous inscriptional data like (τοῦ) φιαλίο, Μαλθακίο, Εἰβολίδο, Ἀριστίο; Εὐτύχο, Ἀρχεστράτο, Θεμιστίο, Νικοσίο, Θάλλο, Ἀριστοκράτος, προσώπο, τότους, τὸς αὐτός, ἀδικῶσαν, ἀνθρώπος, τὸ (= τοῦ) τέλος, ἐμὸ, Φερενίκο, νὼν (= τοῖν), βολάς (βουλάς), βολεῖται, βολεῖσιν, πράττουσιν, etc. (Meisterhans,³ 6);—all of which belong to the third and second centuries B.C.

(c) Whilst Latin V (*u*, *v*) was the *commonest* and most familiar of all vowels and semi-vowels (cp. *-us*, *-um*, *qu-*), in Greek O was the commonest and most familiar of all vowels (cp. *-os*, *-on*); so that, in point of frequency and familiarity, Latin V corresponded to Greek O, and conversely.

I.—GRAMMATICAL PRINCIPLE.

When, therefore, Greece began to feel the influence of rising Rome and there arose the necessity of grecizing Roman names and institutions on the above threefold principle of transcription, the Latin letter V found a natural and ready representative in Greek O, the process being evidently suggested first by the terminal -VS, -VM which corresponded to Greek -OΣ, -ON. Thus *Romus* became Ῥώμος, *Marcus* Μάρκος, *Titus* Τίτος, etc., *titulus* τίτλος, *praetorium* πραιτώριον, *linteum* λέντιον,¹ etc., etc. Once identified with the very frequent Greek O, the equally frequent terminal *u* soon affected also medial and initial *u*, and so led to the association of *ευ* vocalic *u* with Greek O. Accordingly in the older or prae-Christian stage of the Graeco-Roman period we find regularly Greek O rendered by its Latin associate *u*, as Σπύριος (250–30 B.C.), Πόπλιος (since 190 B.C.), Νομίσιος (170 B.C.), Παιδόσιμος (170 B.C.), Ποπλίλιος (120–95 B.C.), Ποπλίκιος (since 73 B.C.), Ῥόβριος *Rubrius* (105 B.C.), Ῥοτίλιος (*Rutilius*, since 105 B.C.), Ὀτόριος (*Otutius*, 195–4 B.C.), Λοκρέτιος (170 B.C.), Λοτάτιος (150–46 B.C.), Μόμμιος (since 146 B.C.), Φονδάνιος (81 B.C.), Ἀππόλλιος (*Appuleius*, 100–90 B.C.), Καλ(ε)πύριος (*Calpurnius*, 130 B.C.), Κεντορίων (*centurio*, 15 B.C.), Σατορνίος (1st cent., B.C.), Σολπίκιος (since 74 B.C.), Πόστομος and Δέκομος (1st cent., B.C.), Κροστομείνα (73 B.C.), Πόλχερ (1st cent. B.C.), etc. Once sanctioned, this practice of rendering every Latin vocalic *u* by Greek ο naturally continued, to a certain extent, down to Byzantine times, as : κεντορία, κεντορείνα, Αἰγоруός, Δεκομία, Φόσκος (*Fuscus*), Ἀλοντίων (*Haluntium*), Νομεσία, Ποτέολοι and Ποτίολοι(-ωλοι), Σατόρνιλλα, Σατορνία(-νεία), Σολφίκιος (*Sulpicius*), Σολπικιανός, Βέιστος (*Venustus*), —κοροπαλάτου (*cyropalatis*), δεκορίων, δίκια, Ἀρονκιανός (*Arruncianus*), Αὔγοστησιών, Δρόσυλλα, Φόριος, Φόριος, Ἰόλιος (*Julius*), Ἰόβας, Λόκιος, Λόππος (*Lupus*), Μομίων, Σεκονδέιος, Σποράκιος, Τέρτολλος, Ὀλπιανός, Ὀλπιος, etc., etc.²

¹ I remark against Prof. Blass (*The Pron. of Ancient Greek*, English trans. p. 35) that if *linteum* were faithfully rendered by λέντεον, this form would require contraction to λιντεόν (like *κάνεον* *κανόν*), and thus become almost irrecoznizable.

² For the converse process, that is to say for the

II.—GRAPHIC PRINCIPLE.

Greek V or Y for Latin V

Graphic considerations are evidently at work in the frequent though posterior practice of representing Latin V through Greek V or Y, inasmuch as the two letters had been then graphically (if not phonetically as well) identified with each other. Accordingly, we find since the second century B.C.—first sporadically, then increasingly—transliterations through Y, as : Αἰμύλιος (188 B.C., but cp. αἰμός), Ῥωμυλία (*Romulea*), Οὐετύριος (120–95 B.C., but cp. τυρός), Σατυρίων (cp. σάτυρος), Λύπολος (cp. λύπη), Λυτάτιος (78 B.C., cp. λυτός, λυτέον), Κλυτομείνα (73 B.C., cp. κλυτός), Σύλλας (cp. συλᾶν), Τυρράνιος (45 B.C.) and Τυρανός (39 B.C., cp. τύραννος), Βαβύλλιος, Τύλλιος (45 B.C., cp. τύλλειν), Ὀδολύσκιος (73 B.C.), Μινύκιος (73 B.C.), Μανύκιος (45 B.C.), Κατυλλείνος, Λέντυλος, Λυγδωνησία (*Lugdunensis*, cp. λύγδινος, λύγδην), Μαρυλίνος, Μάρυλλος, Τερτυλλιανός, Τερτυλλείνος, Τερτύλλιος, Τέρτυλλος, Βενυστεινός Βένυστος and Βήνυστος, —κεντυρία, κεντυρίων, τύρμη (*titma*), δεκρυέσας (cp. κύριος), φρυνεντάριος (cp. φρύγειν), φυνικέινος, —Ἀμυλλία Βρύττιος, Καλπύριος, (cp. πῆρ), Κανύλλα, Δεκύμιος, Ἐρυνκιανός, Γενγκία, Λιβύριος, Λιγυρία (cp. λιγύς), Λυγδοίνου, Πόστυμος, Ρυφήνος (*Rufinus*), Σαλλύστιος, Σαλλυστιανός, Συλπίκιος, Βερυλανός, etc.

III.—PHONETIC PRINCIPLE.

Greek ou for Latin V (u).

Again, when the Greeks had been intermixed with their Roman masters and had occasion to hear with their own ears the Roman names and institutions, pronounced by the Romans themselves, then they adopted also the *phonetic* principle (if not graphic as well since V=8), and thus began to represent Latin *u* by its Greek phonetic equivalent for ou. This practice sets in early, but chiefly since Christian times, thus :— Ῥούβριον (120–95 B.C.), Φούλβιος (86–80 B.C.), Καλπούριος (58–7 B.C.), Μούμιος, Λουκρήτιος (14–5

change of Greek *u* and *o* during Graeco-Roman times, compare : ἄνεο for ἄνευ, ἀστοί, φεογάτα, Γλάκος (K. Brugmann, *Gr. Gram.*³ 51).

B.C.), Τουρράνιος (7 B.C.),—Ποῦλχερ and Ποῦλχρα (10 A.D.), Ἀπποῦλῃος (14-5 A.D.), αὐγοῦρ-αὐγοῦρος, δεκουρίων, Καλπουρνιαῖος, Αἰγουρεῖνος, Ῥουτίλιος, Σουλπίκιος, Σουλπικιανός, Κατουλαῖνος, Κανούλῃος, Φουσκος, Λουτάτιος, Νομισία, Πόστουμος, Ποστούμιος, Πούπλιος, Πούβλιος, Πουπλίκιος and Πουβλίκιος, Σατουρνεῖνος, Βένουστος and Οἰένουστος, Τοῦλλιος, Τοῦλλος, Οἰετούριος and Βετούριος, etc.¹

So far we have considered the (Latin) *vowel* V when it stands by itself, that is either before a consonant (*urbs*) or between two consonants (*mutus*). Let us now examine the case when V is followed by a vowel, and so either forms a *diphthong* or acts as a *semi-vowel*, representing *v*. The cases here coming under consideration are: VA VE VI VO [VV], which according to our preceding explanations would appear in Greek—

	I.	II.	III.
VA either as	oa	or	ua or oua
VE „	oe	„	ue „ oue
VI „	oi	„	ui „ oui
VO „	oo	„	uo „ ouo
[VV] „	oou	„	uu „ ouu

I. BY ς OR ου (=w):

Valerius either	Ουαλέριος	(130 times)	or	Βαλέριος	(36 times).
Valerianus „	Ουαλεριανός	(13 „)	„	Βαλεριανός	(11 „).
Flavius „	Φλάουιος	(135 „)	„	Φλάβιος	(144 „).
Flavianus „	Φλαουιανός	(23 „)	„	Φλαβιανός	(28 „).
Litius „	Λίονιος	(6 „)	„	Λίβιος	(20 „).
Valens „	Ουάλης	(34 „)	„	Βάλης	(10 „).
Verus „	Οὔηρος	(27 „)	„	Βῆρος	(12 „).
Vivius „	Ουίβιος	(17 „)	„	Βίβιος	(14 „).
Victor „	Ουίκτωρ	(10 „)	„	Βίκτωρ	(11 „).

II. BY β (=v):

So further—

Corvus: Κόρονιος and Κόρβος,
 Sertius: Σέρουιος and Σέρβιος,
 Vergilius: Ουεργίλιος and Βεργίλιος,
 Vitellius: Ουιτέλλιος and Βιτέλλιος,
 Nerua: Νέρουα and Νέρβα, etc.

Now it will be remembered that the above vowel-combinations are most popular after

¹ For the converse process of changing Greek *v* (= V) into ου during Graeco-Roman times compare: Λαυδικέους for Λαοδικεῖς, γονέουσι for -νεῦσι, Ἐουτυχος for Εὐτυχος (Blass. *Pron.* 75), ἱκετεύουσάσης (Brugmann *Gr. Gram.* 50).

Now most of these combinations are impossible in Greek for the well-known reason that the Greeks ever since classical (Attic) antiquity could not tolerate a succession of many vowels, such a string forming for them an intolerable hiatus (*χασμωδία*), as οἶοιο, εἰαέα, δηοῖο, γοάοεν, ἀάατος. This *χασμωδία* the Greeks of the Attic and subsequent periods avoided systematically by the well-known expedient of *συναλοιφή* (*contraction, crasis, elision, synizesis*), according to fixed phonetic laws. Thus γένεῖ became γένει, γέραα γέρα, Χίος Χίος, σῶος σῶς, αἰδῶα αἰδῶ, τιμάετε τιμᾶτε, γένεα γένη, κίνεε κίνει, σαφέες σαφέεις, γένεος γένους, νόος νοῦς, etc. The only cases of vowel succession admitted were ια, ιε, ιο—να, νε, (νι), νο, then occasionally ουε and ουο, sanctioned by the verbs ἀκούω κρούω λούω, as ἀκούετε, ἀκούομεν, ἀκουόντων.

When, therefore, the Greeks were faced with such Latin vowel-combinations as the above να νε νί νο, they felt constrained to apply the phonetic principles of their own language and so transcribed Latin V either by the semi-vowel ς (ου) or by the labiodental consonant β , viz.

the consonant Q in the complexes *qua- que- qui- quo-*, which form a most common feature in Latin. But the combination *qu-* having no corresponding $\kappa\beta$ - in Greek, and *qua- que- qui- quo- quu-* as κουα- κουε- κουι- κουο- κουου- being inadmissible in Greek, because that language

never tolerates triphthongs,¹ transcribers were compelled to avoid such transcriptions as *equestris-ἐκουέστρης*, *Quartus-Κουάρτος*, *Quadratus-Κουαδράτος*, *Quintus-Κούϊντος*, *Tranquillus-Τρανκουίλλιος*, and to transliterate *qu* by *κο*, as *Κοάρτος*, *Κοδράτος*, *Κόϊντος* or *Κόϊντος*, thus substituting their own *ο* for Latin *u* in the traditional old fashion. Accordingly we find times without number *qui*-transcribed either by *κοι*- or *κοϊ*- as: *Κολγκιος* or *Κοϊγκιος* (since 196-4 B.C.), *Κοιντίλιος* (150-146 B.C.), *Κόϊντος* (250 or 204 B.C.), etc., etc.—or by *κυ*- (which looked more genuine Greek), as: *Ἀκύλας* (23-22 B.C.), *Ἀκυλανός*, *Κυιτινιανός*, *Κυρήνιος* (but cp. *κύριος*!), *Τραν-κύλλιος*, etc., etc.

To show in what proportion the alternatives *κοι*- or *κοϊ*- and *κυ*- occurs in such common

¹ Compare Schol. in Dion. Thr. 346, 23 (Hilgard): *οὐδέμια συλλαβὴ ἐκ τριῶν φωνηέντων συνίσταται*; also Quint. *Inst.* 1. 4. 10: *nisi quis putat etiam ex tribus vocalibus syllabam fieri*.

names as *Aquila*, *Aquilinus*, *Aquilius*, *Quintianus*, *Quintilius*, *Quintus*, *Quirinus* and *Quirina*, suffice it to say that out of 383 instances of *qui*- we find 154 cases of *κοι*- or *κοϊ*-, 159 of *κυ*- and only 35 of *κυι*-, while no more than 24 cases show *κυι*-.

The inference to be drawn from this list of data is obvious. The instances of *οι* and *υ* not only do exceed by far all other alternatives, but they also hold the balance with each other. Are we not justified in assuming that, once established as equally admissible and correct, this alternative spelling of *οι* and *υ* gave rise and currency to the hitherto unexplained phenomenon of the alternation or confusion of *υ* and *οι* (as *ἀνοίγω* and *ἀνύγω*, *Ποιανεψιών* and *Πυανεψιών*) in the Greek inscriptions and papyri of Graeco-Roman times?

A. N. JANNARIS.

Canca, Crete.

A FEW NOTES ON THE *SATIRES* OF PERSIUS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE PURPORT AND POSITION OF THE PROLOGUE.

BEFORE we attempt to determine the position of the Prologue, we are confronted with the preliminary question—what was its purpose and its relation to the *Satires*?

Is it merely a conventional and somewhat commonplace Prelude without any special reference to the whole, or a part, of the *Satires*—of the kind, in fact, with which a feeble author bespeaks attention for his poems, while he disparages their claims? Such would seem to be the opinion of Conington and a considerable number of the editors. Yet surely a consideration of its subject matter might have given them pause before arriving at such a conclusion.

This is no feeble category of excuses and apologies, of the kind we know so well, but a series of downright point-blank assertions concerning the author's position and circumstance, written in the first person and bearing every mark of intention and purpose. That the statements are false—or suggestively false—constitutes the very difficulty of the case.

Take for example the word 'semipaganus' (v. 6). Whatever it means—whether 'half-educated' 'half a country clown,' as the scholiast renders it, or a 'poor half-brother of the guild' (as Jahn, Conington, and others)—it suggests undoubtedly and beyond question rusticity or, at any rate, provincialism. Yet Persius, as the best authority assures us, was a man of noble birth and polished refinement. Again, the author is at pains to tell us by an analogy in detail that he was poor and wrote for money—another and still more startling falsity, for the same authority assures us that he was well-to-do and rich. Yet Conington and Nettleship accept all these contradictions with indifference, and barely offer an attempt to explain them.

Now even the latter-day journalist doesn't hazard misrepresentations like these except with the strongest possible motive—much less would a Stoic philosopher of the strictest principles, as Persius undoubtedly was.

It is our present object to determine, if

possible, what this motive can have been in the particular case before us.

And, first of all, let us clear the way by examining the arguments on the opposite side. Notwithstanding the emphatic dictum of Conington that the Prologue is really an Epilogue, and should be relegated to the close of the *Satires* as a purely conventional adjunct, having no relation to anything contained in the body of the work, I must confess myself wholly unconvinced by his arguments. Rather, I should say, they have tended to confirm me in the opposite opinion.

For the difficulties of himself and his followers begin with the very first words of the Prologue and, as it seems to me, they have had little success in explaining them. The successive suggestions that Persius had no capacity for authorship (vv. 1-3), that he was 'half-educated' or at any rate 'provincial' (v. 6), and, finally, that he wrote for money (Prol. *ad fin.*) are, as I have said, so many transparent falsehoods—yet how are they met by the commentators, who would seem to hold a brief for the defence of their time-honoured theory?

To explain the suggestion that the poet had no special qualifications for authorship, it is pleaded that 'he disclaims the honours of poetry, not without sarcasm, and insinuates that much which professes to come from inspiration, has really a more prosaic source—want of bread and love of money.' So Conington, 'which only removes the difficulty a step forward. Add to which, it wholly ignores the fact that elsewhere (*e.g.* 1. 125. 126) the poet asserts his claim to be heard with the best of them. Again, to meet the assertion that the poet was 'semipaganus' (whichever we accept of the two alternative renderings) they can only plead that the translation should be 'a poor half-brother of the guild' rather than 'half a clown' which is the rendering of the scholiast. Finally, in meeting the still more transparent fiction of poverty, the weakness of the defence is yet more evident in the suggestion that 'Persius does not say he writes for bread, but hints it in order to ridicule his contemporaries by affecting to classify himself with them.' (Con.)

That this is no conventional prologue, deal-

ing with platitudes and truisms that mean nothing, must, I think, be abundantly clear, and, in this dilemma, we shall surely do well to seek elsewhere for a clue to all this tissue of contradictions. And, for myself, I can only find it by assuming that the poet satirized Nero in many passages of the First Satire and, still more decidedly, in the Fourth. In the former assumption I am supported by the authority of Jahn, though his agreement, I am sorry to say, does not extend to the Fourth Satire in which apparently he finds no allusion to Nero. On this point I shall do my best to meet him later on. For the moment it is sufficient to assume that, if our hypothesis be true, even as regards the First Satire, we have found our clue to the contradictions and eccentricities of the Prologue. With the fear of Nero's vengeance before his eyes, what more probable than that the poet should try by elaborate misrepresentation to divert attention from his identity and aim—misrepresentation which he repeats and emphasizes in the ninth line of the First Satire? Fancy a youth who died almost in his teens enlarging upon his 'grey hairs, asceticism, and advanced life!'

And, first of all, as regards the *direct* evidence. The life of the author by Valerius Probus (which Conington pronounces to be 'undoubtedly authentic' but in this connexion conspicuously ignores) explicitly assures us that Persius *did* satirize Nero. More by token, that in verse 8 of the First Satire the words 'quis non?' took the place of 'Mida rex' at the suggestion of Cornutus, who feared the consequences of so direct an allusion.

Other passages in the same satire point to the same conclusion, and are attested in many cases by direct historical evidence. Take for example the following:—

Sat. 1. 57.

Nugaris, quum tibi, calve,
Pinguis aqualiculus protenso sesquiped
exstet.

In his note Jahn quotes the scholiast on Luc. (1. 53, 58, 59) in reference to the tradition that Nero became bald at an early age, while Suetonius (*Nero* 51), in treating of

his personal appearance, adds 'fuit ventre projecto.'

Sat. i. 69.

Ecce modo heroas sensus afferre videmus
Nugari solitos Graecæ,

which Jahn again accepts as an allusion to Nero, and quotes from Philostr. (*apud Apoll. Tyan.* iv. 19) in proof that Nero's earlier effusions were all in Greek.

Sat. i. 99-102—a style of verse-making especially affected by Nero, of which Tacitus (*Ann.* xiv. 16) gives a description which might have been written *verbatim* as an analysis of these very lines.

And when we pass from isolated passages like these to a consideration of the Fourth Satire, the strength of our position, in spite of Jahn's defection, is immeasurably increased. No need here to particularize individual passages or emphasize individual details. Nero, from the first line to the last, is the subject of the poem, though Alcibiades is set up as a lay figure which can be safely battered in his stead. Study the parallel with which the Satire opens, and decide whether any other device could have served the poet so efficiently. In Alcibiades the author found ready to his hand the very counterpart of Nero—a figure on which he could lavish his choicest invective, and that without mentioning the Emperor's name, or compromising in the smallest degree his own position. From this admirable vantage ground he could fearlessly direct his attack, furnished too with a door of escape, if he should draw upon himself the attentions of Nero. Had the fear been realized, then all the divergences between the two characters could have been emphasized for all they were worth, and every similarity have been as rigorously suppressed. Only at the last—forgetful it may have been or reckless of the consequences—he determines at all cost to force his satire home. Or he may have thought the allusion less clear than it has been made by the history of the times. At any rate, and from whatever cause, he flings in a line that has identified Nero almost by name:—

Si puteal multa cautus tibice flagellas.

By a stroke of the pen the scene is transferred from Athens to Rome, and we see at a glance that Nero and not Alcibiades has been the leading figure throughout. Every successive word—'puteal' 'cautus' 'vibice' 'flagellas,' one and all of them—drives the certainty home, and the only real difficulty is that the poet should so far have forgotten his caution as ever to make the line public.

Except on this hypothesis, the passage remains an enigma.

Not one of the commentators—not Jahn or Conington or Nettleship—has offered even a plausible explanation of the verse or of its connexion with the context. Conington thinks the reference may be to 'exorbitant usury.' Nettleship follows his lead, and sees in 'flagellas' only 'an ornamental extension of the metaphor . . . denoting the scourge of the market,' while both of them are ominously silent as regards the crucial word 'cautus.' Jahn, on the other hand, finds in 'puteal' a reference to the 'puteal Libonis,' and explains the passage of a litigant who is 'determined to gain his suit at whatever cost.' (But where again in this case does 'cautus' come in?) Each or any of the above would be a fair explanation in connexion with another and more general context. But here they are weak and unconvincing. On the other hand, refer the passage to Nero and all becomes clear. The verses, in fact, read as a direct comment on the explicit statement of Tacitus, that Nero (like our own Mohawks of later date) made nightly raids on this particular quarter of the city 'comitantibus qui raperent venditioni exposita et obviis vulnera inferrent' (*Ann.* xiii. 25), while, as if to clear up our difficulty in regard to this very word 'cautus,' he adds 'Nero autem metuentior in posterum milites sibi et plerosque gladiatores circumdedit,' a fact which Suetonius further confirms by the following statement 'quare nunquam postea se publico illud horæ sine tribunis commisit.' (*Nero*, 26.)

For myself, I need no further proof that Casaubon, Meister, and other leading commentators are right in referring this Satire to Nero, and in treating the Prologue as no mere tissue of commonplaces—rather,

I should say, gratuitous falsehoods—but, on the contrary, as a deliberate scheme on the part of the author for safe-guarding himself against a by no means impossible vengeance. And I would print it, as it

appears in most editions, in the fore-front of the book, as having a special relation to the First and Fourth Satires.

ALFRED PRETOR.

NOTES

WITH reference to Mr. Jones' interesting paper on the influence of the Pseudo-Plutarchean treatise *περὶ παιδων ἀγωγῆς* on the Humanists, it is a noteworthy fact that there exists in numerous MSS. dating from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century a recensio of this treatise, containing a considerable number of interpolated corrections of the text as we find it in the genuine tradition of Plutarch's *Ethica*. Ducas in editing the treatise for the Aldine took this recensio as a basis, and it is, in consequence, the base of our present editions of the text. I have not of course seen all these late MSS. of the treatise, but I find that all those in Paris, four in number, correspond to the Aldine text in the passages I have compared; so it is highly probable that the others reproduce this recensio. The changes, I should say, are of no great importance for the context, the interpolations in question being only corrections making certain corrupt passages readable. The interesting fact is the continued reproduction in manuscript form of this treatise in the East up to the eighteenth century, showing that it was regarded as a

classical manual on the principles of Education. It must have been so regarded in the East at the date of the earliest of these MSS. (fifteenth century), and, I think, earlier; so that it had already earned this reputation in the East when it fell into the hands of the Western Humanists.

As we cannot trace the tradition of the *Ethica* of Plutarch beyond the twelfth century, we do not know at what date this selection from his works (the first 21 treatises of the Planudean Corpus of the *Moralia*, separately preserved in the same order in many MSS.) was made. The treatise there occupies a place of honour, the second, and it must at that time have been in great repute in order to earn this place. Its reputation must go still further back, and possibly traces of it may be found in earlier Byzantine literature.

As to its authorship, it is significant that Wyttenbach quotes many parallels to its diction from Philo. I do not mean to suggest that it is by Philo.

W. R. PATON.

OBITUARY

FRIEDRICH BLASS.

By the death of Friedrich Blass on March 5th, the Greek scholarship of Europe has lost one of its foremost representatives. Born at Osnabrück in January, 1843, and educated at the local *gymnasium* under B. R. Abeken (the author of *Cicero in seinen Briefen*), he studied at Göttingen under Sauppe, and at Bonn under Ritschl and

Otto Jahn. After holding scholastic appointments in various parts of Germany, he was appointed to a professorship at Kiel, and promoted in 1892 to a similar position at Halle, which he filled with the highest distinction for the remaining fifteen years of his life.

His dissertation on the rhetorical works

of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, written for his degree at Bonn in 1863, was the germ of his earliest substantial work, that on the history of Greek oratory from the age of Alexander to that of Augustus (1865). This was followed by the greatest of his works, the four volumes of *Die Attische Beredsamkeit* (1868-80), which attained a second edition in 1887-98. For the Teubner series he edited the texts of all the Attic Orators except Lysias and Isacus; repeatedly revised Rehdantz' *Philippics*, and produced a school edition of the *De Corona*, and of eight of Plutarch's *Lives*. His critical texts of the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* (1892) and of Bacchylides (1898) have passed through several editions. His treatise on Greek pronunciation and his Grammar of New Testament Greek were translated into English; he also produced a thoroughly revised edition of the first half of Kühner's *Greek Grammar*, besides writing on the 'Philology of the Gospels,' and the 'Criticism of the New Testament,' and dealing with the texts of St. Luke and St. John, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistle to the Hebrews. In the interval between his two works on the *Rhythm of Greek Prose* (1901 and 1905), he produced his treatise on Interpolations in the *Odyssey* (1904). His latest work was a commentary on the *Choëphoræ* (1906).

His published works frequently brought him into friendly relations with scholars in this country. In 1879 he was the guest of

the editor of the *editio princeps* of Hypercides, Churchill Babington, and in the same year he stayed in Cambridge with the present writer. In 1892 he received an honorary degree at Dublin, and delivered a brief Latin address, which is published in the *Tercentenary Records* (p. 257). At the Bicentenary of Halle he entertained Prof. Mahaffy and myself, as delegates from our respective Universities. On his last visit to Cambridge he for the first time made the personal acquaintance of Sir Richard Jebb. In London, Oxford, and Dublin, he repeatedly gave proof of his remarkable skill in deciphering and identifying the fragments of Greek *papyri* and in restoring the *lacunæ* in the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία*, and in Bacchylides. His summer vacations were usually spent in the Harz and the Riesengebirge, and he also visited Greece and Italy and Sicily. Those who knew him best recognised in him 'a character of rare simplicity and goodness,' and of unaffected piety. He was a man of a large heart and of a calm and sober temper; and he was ever ready, with an absolute unselfishness, to place the results of his learning and of his acumen at the service of others. The expression of his face may perhaps be described as earnest and resolute, but not unkindly; while the beauty of his character will prompt his friends in this country to remember him as ἀνὴρ καλὸς τε κἀγαθὸς καὶ τοῖς φίλοις ποθεινός.

J. E. SANDYS.

NEWS AND COMMENTS

As a specimen of the buffoonery in which reviewers (or editors) think fit to indulge, when attacking the reformed pronunciation of Latin, we quote the following morsel of humour from a notice of a recent pamphlet in *Education* (March 15, 1907):—

'We confess to an "inwinkible" objection to the proposed change, which adds new terrors to the study of the classics. Our main objection is that it would render it almost impossible to the average Englishman to trace the connexion of the multitude of words in our language which are derived from the Latin. Again, the efforts of the reformers seem to

be directed to getting rid of the British "I" sound. The sound of "I" as in "bite," is the mark of a dominant and powerful race like our own and the mighty men of ancient Rome. We are convinced that the Roman, at his best, pronounced his *I* as *I*, and not as a soft E. We have very vivid recollections of an attempt of our classical form master—(alas! some thirty years ago)—to introduce the new or reformed pronunciation into the class. It came to an abrupt conclusion when the boys were required to apply the new pronunciation to the word—*causas!*'

Education circulates amongst the members of County Councils and Town Councils, and elementary schoolmasters.

The pamphlet of Prof. E. V. Arnold and Prof. R. S. Conway on *The Restored Pronunciation of Greek and Latin* (Cambridge University Press, 15.) has just been republished in a revised edition. It contains a good deal of new matter, especially in the Appendix on the Greek Aspirates; but we regret that it gives no help in the matter of accents. The compilers seem to acquiesce in the current neglect of the accents, without discussing the question whether they can to any degree be kept. The final acute can easily be spoken, and it adds quite a new character to the intonation. Other acute accents can also be spoken, with care, by giving a higher musical note: precisely the same thing is heard in French. Thus *c'est trop fort* is pronounced with a musical rise on *trop*, and a long final, and this effect can easily be imitated in (say) *καὶ λέγειν*. So also certain English intonations, such as the modern undergraduate cry from court to window, 'Jō-ōnes!' The circumflex alone presents any real difficulty. J. S. Blackie

was a strong upholder of the spoken accent, and we think that a sustained attempt ought to be made to reproduce it, before finally giving it up, if given up it must be. For schoolboys, all these systematic attempts to give control over the voice are of great value; and the more varied they are, the easier they become. This pamphlet was the first of its kind, and bore the brunt of the battle: it is the only one, we believe, which includes Greek. Latin pronunciation has actually been made the subject for a leading article in the *Times*, which gives the reform a qualified blessing.

PROFESSOR RONALD BURROWS has in the press a volume entitled *Cretan Excavations and their Bearing on Early History*. The work gives a detailed description of the systematic investigations which have been carried on in Crete, and have already yielded such treasures of value and interest to archaeologists and historians.

REVIEWS

PRICKARD'S TEXT AND TRANSLATION OF LONGINUS ON THE SUBLIME.

Libellus de Sublimitate Dionysio Longino fere adscriptus. Accedunt excerpta quaedam e Cassii Longini operibus. Recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit ARTURUS OCTAVIUS PRICKARD. Oxonii: Typographeo Clarendoniano. Pp. xvi + 74. 1906. (*Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis*.) Paper 2s., cloth 2s. 6d.

Longinus on the Sublime. Translated by A. O. PRICKARD, with introduction, appendix, and index. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Pp. xxviii + 128. 1906. (*Oxford Library of Translations*.) 3s. 6d. net.

Two editions of the *De Sublimitate* appeared at Oxford in the eighteenth century (Hudson's in 1710, Toup's in 1778); none in the nineteenth. The issue last year of a new Oxford text and translation is a welcome proof of renewed interest in the treatise.

Mr. Prickard's text follows the guiding principle with which his *Praefatio* opens,

'unicum esse fontem textus libelli de Sublimitate antiquissimum illum codicem Parisinum 2036.' This conclusion has not been adopted by him without full consideration and investigation. He has procured a report on selected readings of the cod. Marcianus (which he shows to have been used by Paulus Manutius in the preparation of his edition), and has personally examined the Ambrosianus, the Laurentianus, and the four Paris manuscripts. If the result has been largely negative, it has been none the less valuable. An editor's critical apparatus can be greatly simplified when it is recognized that P 2036 stands virtually alone. With regard to the light which the first part (containing Aristotle's *Problems*) of this manuscript may be supposed to throw on the second part (containing the *De Sublimitate*) some interesting remarks are made: 'Opportune autem accidit ut librarius, aut idem aut certe ad eandem scribendi normam institutus, Problemata quoque

Aristotelis in eodem volumine inclusa manu scripserit. Si vero eas lectiones quas ille in hoc opere singulares tradidit iuxta eas quas ex optimis codicibus receperunt editores inspicimus, non nulla in universum apparent observanda. Quippe noster particulas et alia minora vocabula, praesertim articulum, semel atque iterum omittit, verborum ordinem non raro variat, et ipsa verba transpositis vocalibus commutat. Itaque ἀγρίαι pro γραῖαι (*Probl.* x. 27, 893 b. 32) scripsit, qui error, sicut sescenti alii, ex uncialium litterarum transpositione plane ortus est. Quod aliquatenus tantum valet, cum nesciamus qualem textum Problematum ante oculos habuerit scriba, sed valet aliquatenus' (*Praefat.* pp. vii, viii). The natural conclusion to be drawn from these observations is that the transcriber (or transcribers) of P 2036 was frail but honest. His mistakes were caused by human infirmity rather than by gratuitous cleverness.

Taking P 2036 as the basis, and trusting generally to its integrity, Mr. Prickard has produced a sound and handy text, well in keeping with the series to which it belongs. A comparison will show how compendiously the 'libellus' is printed. Mr. Prickard's text (together with the critical footnotes) occupies fifty-two pages only. Vahlen's text (together with the footnotes) covers eighty-three pages of a considerably larger size (Jahn-Vahlen ed. iii., 1905). It is true that Vahlen's notes contain much useful matter (e.g. references to authors quoted, parallel passages, etc.) which Mr. Prickard prefers to give at the foot of his translation. But the reader gains greatly from an unencumbered Greek page, and will feel thankful to the Oxford Press for a series which reminds him that the great classics (including this classic of criticism) are small in compass. There is no need now to load the critical footnotes to the *De Sublimitate* with the minutiae of various readings. This kind of work has been done already; and as the main facts at issue have been settled, a new editor may safely keep his list both of unaccepted manuscript readings and of unaccepted conjectures within very narrow bounds. In his text Mr. Prickard incorporates a certain number of conjectures which are necessary and generally accepted, but none (I think) of his own. When he regards a passage as

hopelessly corrupt, he marks it as such: e.g. cc. vii. 2; x. 7; xiv. 2; xlv. 7. Among the conjectures which he records, but does not accept, may be mentioned Mr. Herbert Richards' ingenious εἰς λῆρον ἐνίοτε τεράστιον (ix. 14), and the same scholar's τῷ πλῆθει (xxxiv. 1: he himself suggests μὴ ὅτι πλῆθει). On the other hand, he receives into his text Mr. Richards' καίων for κάτω (xv. 4). Bentley's ἀπαστράπτει for ἐπέστραπται (xii. 3) he does not adopt. He rightly points out (*Praefat.* p. viii) that 'non de splendore Demosthenis orationis in hoc loco, sed de contentione eius agitur.' It might be added that the supposed corruption is not probable palaeographically, and that Vahlen, who adopted ἀπαστράπτει in his former edition, now retains the manuscript reading ἐπέστραπται. In ix. 9 Mr. Prickard records two (ἐγνώρισε and ἐθεώρησε) of the many substitutes proposed for ἐχώρησε. But the text is probably right as he gives it: ἐπειδὴ τὴν τοῦ θείου δύναμιν κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐχώρησε ἀξέφηνεν. The meaning of ἐχώρησε is 'conceived' or 'comprehended,' as in St. Matthew's Gospel xix. 11, 12, and in other writers. xxvii. 2: ἀποίχεσθαι (infin. for imperat.), rather than ἀποίχεσθε, may be right. xxiv. 1: can the author have quoted Herodotus in the form εἰς δάκρυα ἔπεσον τὸ θέητρον (cp. xxiii. 2)? This would account for ἔπεσον οἱ θεώμενοι in P. iv. 3: would it not be better to retain Ἑρμακράτη as given by P rather than to read Ἑρμοκράτην with Manutius, when usage (more especially in these late writers) varies so greatly? On ix. 9 and xxiii. 4 Mr. Prickard's critical notes are fuller than Vahlen's. Very rarely an explanatory note is included in the critical apparatus. For instance, xviii. 2 ('nescio an respiciat noster Herod. ii. 11 εἰ ὧν δὴ ἐβλήσει κτλ. sed obstat accentus in εἴ'): and xxxii. 8 ('sanum esse αὐτό, et nihil mutandum, docuit Vahlen, collato Diels Parmen. p. 95: vide etiam Iac. Riddell Dig. Plat. Id. p. 47 in Plat. Apol. p. 134'). The following misprints may be noted: p. xi. 'I. Hammer' for 'C. Hammer,' c. xxvii. 4 ἐνθάθε for ἐνθάδε, c. xxviii. 5 the question-mark (:), in place of a comma, after δύσκολον.

To pass to the Translation. This includes an Introduction, an excellent Analysis of

Contents, the Translation proper (with the appropriate heading 'Concerning Sublimity'), an Index of Proper Names occurring in the Text, and the following Appendices: I. Specimen Passages translated from Greek Writers of the Roman Empire on Literary Criticism;¹ II. The Treatise on Sublimity and Latin Critics; III. Passages translated from Bishop Lowth's Oxford Lectures on Hebrew Poetry; IV. Additional Note on Paraphones.

The chief topic discussed in the Introduction (cp. also *Praefatio*, pp. viii-x) is that of the date and authorship of the treatise. The negative conclusion reached appears in the terse headings prefixed to the text and to the translation, viz., *Περὶ "Υψους* and 'Concerning Sublimity.' But though no author's name is given, Mr. Prickard makes it clear (in the course of his summary of the arguments on both sides) that he thinks the first century a more probable date of composition than the third, and that the traditional English title 'Longinus on the Sublime' must not be taken as historically true. In his Appendix II. he has some interesting remarks on the Latin affinities of the treatise, and collects a few coincidences of detail between it and various passages of Quintilian. He might further have mentioned a double parallelism between the *Astronomica* of Manilius and the *De Sublimitate* pointed out by Prof. Robinson Ellis (*C.R.* xiii. 294), and have added to the list of possible Latinisms one to which Mr. H. J. Edmiston has called attention (*C.R.* xiv. 224). While deprecating a positive conclusion based upon these indications of Latin influence, Mr. Prickard remarks that any discovery as to the authorship of the treatise may be in the nature of a surprise, and he proceeds as follows: 'It may therefore not be wholly idle to point out certain affinities to Latin thought, to remind ourselves that Horace began his literary life by writing Greek lyrics, and to add that the professions of Greek nationality implied

on p. 28 may have been understood to be merely conventional, a thin disguise which need deceive no one.' The reference in the last clause is to *De Subl.* ix. 4: οὐ κατ' ἄλλα δέ τινα ἢ ταῦτα, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, φίλτατε Τερεντιανέ, (λέγω δέ, εἰ καὶ ἡμῖν ὡς "Ελλησιν ἐφέλται τι γινώσκειν) καὶ ὁ Κικέρων τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἐν τοῖς μεγέθεσι παραλλάττει. Taken by themselves, the words εἰ καὶ ἡμῖν κτλ. are not very decisive either way; but taken in connexion with the opening of the next section (ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὑμεῖς ἂν ἄμεινον ἐπικρίνοιτε κτλ.), where the plural ὑμεῖς would seem to mean 'you Romans,' they appear to make Greek authorship more probable than Roman. Besides, would the author, if a Roman, have been content to name (without quoting) Cicero alone in Latin literature, when he quotes one passage from Hebrew literature and a host of passages from the poets and prose-writers of Greece? We must rather believe that we have before us 'an author who had the great Greek books in his hands, just as we have, only in a more complete form, and who read them *in the language of his own daily life and from a Greek point of view*' (Prickard's Introduction, p. vii). An ancient critical work emanating from such an author has, as Mr. Prickard himself says in the same passage, that about it which no modern estimate can supply. It is not simply a question of date, but (as the words put into italics imply) of nationality, or at all events most complete naturalisation; and if the author was a Jew or a Roman (as Mommsen and Mr. Prickard respectively, and most tentatively, suggest), he must have been a most exceptionally Hellenized Jew or Roman. The safest conclusion probably is that he was a Greek of cosmopolitan interests and sympathies. It is clear from many indications that his was a wider world than that of the Mediterranean. Mr. Prickard truly points out (in a note on ix. 13) that 'the rich imagery of the passage must have been drawn from a knowledge of seas other than the almost tideless Mediterranean,' and he bids the reader compare Tacitus' description, in the *Agricola*, of the wonder excited by the tides and tidal rivers of Britain.

As regards the translation itself, it is

¹ The writers and passages are as follows: Dionys. Halic., *de Comp. Verb.*, c. xxiii; Plutarch, *de Aud. Poetis*, c. iii.; Dion Chrysostom, *Or. xii. Olympicus*; Lucian, *Quomodo hist. conscribenda sit*, §§ 1-8; Cassius Longinus, *a*) on Plato's 'Timaeus,' *b*) *Rhetoric*, c. iii.

satisfactory to observe that the translator has not shrunk from the occasional use of long English sentences. Some good instances will be found on pp. 11, 45 (where it is worth noticing incidentally that the Greek writer subjects *τάξιν* itself to a pretty severe hyperbaton), 46 (last sentence), 71. The elaborate style in which the *De Sublimitate* is written is not its strongest point, but it is so characteristic that it should be indicated in any English translation which aims at reflecting the original faithfully. This is true of words as well as of sentences. Take, for example, the well-known definition *ἕψος μεγαλοφροσύνης ἀπήχημα* (ix. 2). Much like a modern critic, the author introduces the words with a casual air (*γέγραφέα πον καὶ ἐτέρωθι τὸ τοιοῦτον*), but they are nevertheless a resounding utterance of which he feels somewhat proud even on the formal side. 'Sublimity is the reverberation (or the far-heard echo) of a great soul' would not be too elaborate a rendering of them. Mr. Prickard gives 'sublimity is the note which rings from a great mind.' (He mentions, but does not adopt, the rendering 'eloquence is the ring of a great soul': an expression which would be somewhat obscure apart from the Greek.) But if he simplifies in this passage, he redresses the balance elsewhere. In xxxiv. 2, for instance, he translates *καὶ οὐ πάντα ἐξῆς καὶ μονοτόνως ὡς ὁ Δημοσθένης λέγει* by '(he talks) not in a sustained monotonous manner like Demosthenes.' Here his first inclination (apart from considerations of general literary effect) may have been to speak of 'one tone, or pitch,' since *monotonous* has come to imply *droning*. Similarly, he renders *χείρω τε τὰ φυσικὰ ἔργα, ὡς οἴονται, καὶ τῷ παντὶ δειλότερα καθίσταται ταῖς τεχνολογίαις κατασκευευνόμενα* (ii. 1) by 'all natural effects are spoilt, they think, by technical rules, and become miserable skeletons.' Here again, 'become miserable skeletons' is perhaps to be preferred (as more elaborate) to some such expression as 'are sorely shrivelled, or wizened.' A few miscellaneous observations on points of detail may be added here. i. 2: does not *αὐτῆς τῆς ἐπινοίας* mean 'the very idea (sc. of Caecilius' treatise)' rather than simply 'his ingenuity'? x. 7: the introductory *γάρ* had better be

omitted in an English version of Demosthenes' famous words *ἐσπέρα μὲν γὰρ ἦν κ.τ.λ.* xv. 8: possibly *βλέπουσιν* (in *βλέπουσιν Ἐρινύας*) combines the meanings of 'see' (*εἶδεν*, xv. 2) and 'look.' If so, 'have Furies in their eyes'; or the like. xxvi. 3: 'the most finished work' (*τὸ ἀκριβέστατον*) would perhaps be slightly more natural English than Mr. Prickard's 'the most accurate work,' though the latter rendering has the merit of uniformity. xxxix. 4: syllabic equivalence is purchased rather dearly when *ὥσπερ νέφος* is turned into 'like a vapour.' (Such metaphorical expressions as 'caused the danger to pass by like a cloud' were—as we see from this and other passages—once famous for their vividness. They have long since lost their freshness; and our orators now find it necessary to amplify the original idea, e.g. 'when you and I have vanished like streaks of morning cloud into the infinite azure of the past'). xlv. 3: *διόπερ οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ κόλακες ἐκβαίνομεν μεγαλοφυνεῖς* is rendered 'wherefore we turn out nothing but flatterers of portentous growth.' But the writer of the treatise seems of set purpose to repeat ironically an expression which he had previously used more than once in serious contexts; and if so, we should be nearer the mark in translating 'we prove ourselves sublime flatterers' or 'we show a genius for flattery.' In the same section the rare word *παιδομαθεῖς* (cp. *ὀψιμαθεῖς*) is hard to give: perhaps we might say 'in the infant school we learn the lessons of a righteous servitude.'

Here and there Mr. Prickard seems to be translating a text other than his own. x. 7: the rendering (though avowedly only a paraphrase) would appear to suggest *ψήγματα* rather than *ψύγματα*. (His suggestion of *ἐμποδιούντα* in this corrupt passage may be noted by the way: as also an interesting conjecture in the third section of the same chapter.) vii. 4: the words *ὅταν γὰρ τοῖς ἀπὸ διαφόρων ἐπιτηδευμάτων βίωον ζήλων ἡλικιῶν λόγων ἔν τι καὶ ταῦτὸν ἅμα περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἅπασιν δοκῇ* are rendered by 'for when men of different habits, lives, ambitions, ages, all take one and the same view about the same writings.' A real difficulty (that involved in translating *λόγων* by 'languages') is

thus met by means of a transposition which is, in a footnote, supported by the authority of Zachary Pearce. xiv. 3: does not the rendering seem to imply ἀμβλινεσθαι rather than ἀμβλοῦσθαι? The metaphor of untimely birth is maintained in μὴ τελεσφορούμενα. xviii. 1: a probable suggestion made in the Translation (but not noticed in the Text) is that τὰς πείσεις τε καὶ ἐρωτήσεις may be an error for τὰς πείσεις τε καὶ ἀποκρίσεις or the like. This seems confirmed by τῆς πείσεως καὶ ἀποκρίσεως, and two other similar expressions, later in the chapter. ἐρωτήσεις may have been a gloss on πείσεις.

Like its original author, the translator of the treatise refuses to shun words because they are old or new, formal or familiar, if only they seem graphic and telling. Here are some examples. viii. 1: 'native-born' (for αἰθιγενεῖς: the curious expression 'native-born' did not, as is sometimes thought, originate with Mr. Kipling). iii. 5: 'academic' (= σχολικά). xv. 8: 'exotic' (= ἔκφυλοι). xlii. 1: 'stunts' (= κολοίει). xxxiii. 5: 'in a row' (ἐξῆς). xli. 2: 'ballad-music' (τὰ ψῆδάρια). xlv. 12: 'in a separate paper' (ἐν ἰδίῳ ὑπομνήματι). xx. 2: 'he belabours the intellect of the judges' (τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν δικαστῶν πλῆττει). xxxi. 2: 'he had made collops of himself' (ὄλον καταχορδεύων ἑαυτὸν). It is seldom that Mr. Prickard's English is of the obscure or embarrassed kind which has given an evil name to *translators' English*. Slight exceptions to the rule will be found on p. 17 ('Yet all this is terrible indeed, though, unless taken as allegory, thoroughly impious and out of proportion'), p. 38 ('Demosthenes is offering a demonstration in defending his public acts'), p. 46 ('He has transposed,' etc.), p. 67 ('Yet it is right,' etc.). On the other hand, happy and idiomatic renderings are to be seen everywhere. For instance: iv. 4 'maiden-pupils' (παρθένων), xxxiv. 2 'the wit of a man who knows life' (μυκτὴρ πολιτικώτατος), xxii. 3 'speaking on the call of the moment' (τὸ ἐξ ὑπογίου λέγειν). A good example of the effective handling of longer passages may be drawn from ix. 13:

'Here the tone of those great lays of Ilium is no longer maintained—the passages on one level of sublimity with no sinking anywhere, the same stream of passion poured upon passion, the readiness of

turn, the closeness to life, the throng of images all drawn from the truth: as when Ocean retires into himself, and is left lonely around his proper bounds, only the ebbings of his greatness are left to our view, and a wandering among the shallows of the fabulous and the incredible.'¹

The passage just given is illustrated by a footnote (already mentioned) referring to 'the almost tideless Mediterranean.' Other useful notes will be found on p. 3 (explaining εἰ ἔστιν ὕψους τις ἢ βάθους τέχνη); pp. 21, 22; p. 53 (on Paraphones: with a further reference to Appendix IV.). A slight error has occasionally crept into the Notes or the Introduction. On p. 39 the 'Demi' of Eupolis is printed as 'Demis.' Does not the reference given to Theophrastus on p. xii tend to confirm Mr. Prickard's point, since ὁ ἄρεσκος clearly means to offer a complimentary greeting? Perhaps the brief description of Theocritus on p. 61 ('Theocritus, the great pastoral poet, living at Syracuse about 280 B.C.') is as near to fact as we can hope to get. In the Introduction, pp. xv, xvi, it seems to be suggested that metaphors drawn from architecture rarely occur in the Greek and Roman literary critics. But is this really so? Comparisons between literary composition and architecture will be found in Dionys. Halic. *de Comp. Verb.* c. 6 and c. 22, Quintil. *Inst. Or.* vii. 1 (proem.), Cic. *de Or.* iii. 171. The expression ἡ τῶν ὀνομάτων οἰκοδομία occurs as early as Alcidas. And a building metaphor probably underlies the rhetorical use in all or most of such words as: κανών, γόμφος, πυργοῦν, ἀντερειδεῖν, στηριγμός, ἀντιστηριγμός, ἔδρα, τέκτων, ὕλη, κατασκενάζειν, ἐγκατάσκειν.

A very attractive feature of Mr. Prickard's Notes is the variety of the illustrative matter they contain. Reference is made to authorities so diverse as Seneca (on the idolatry of the 'Figures'), Hartwig (on the capture of the tunny), Sir Charles Napier (on Moses as a general: this judgment may have suggested a phrase used in recent years at Lady-smith), Lockhart's *Life of Scott* (on Anne of Geierstein): not to mention the *Discourses* of Sir Joshua Reynolds and the writings of

¹ It may be mentioned that Herman Merivale's translation of Sappho's 'Ode to Anactoria' is used in c. x. A new version of the Ode by Mr. A. S. Way appeared in the *Academy* of Nov. 24, 1906.

Addison and Pascal. Many readers of the *Classical Review* will remember the delight with which they read, some fifteen years ago, notes of an equally varied and attractive kind with which the same author had illuminated his book entitled *Aristotle on the Art of Poetry*. Now, as then, they will feel that they have spent some happy hours in the company of a scholar who looks on literature not from any narrow technical standpoint, but as the outcome of a nation's life. In a striking passage of *Aristotle on the Art of Poetry*, Mr. Prickard compared the *Poetics* to an old Scandinavian house built from a tree in the great forest tracts. 'The tree was nurtured through the lifetime of generations of men, and the building may hold together as long, perhaps, as Time himself. Enter, if you have oppor-

tunity: the doorway is narrow, but noble guests assemble, and the entertainment satisfies; the welcome prepared for all is unfailing; and here too there are gods.' Something of the same kind might be said of the *Treatise on the Sublime*; and its most recent editor and translator may well feel that, by two books so compact and so inviting as those lately published, he has done not a little, in his day and generation, to maintain the life and extend the influence of Longinus. To a house whose rafters 'are beautiful, as well as strong; for they are round and shapely in all their length, and, being richly coloured by air and by vital juices from within, can return the deep glow of the firelight': to such a house there could be no more congenial guide. W. RHYS ROBERTS.

COLIN AND BOURGUET ON THE PYTHIAN APOLLO.

Le Culte d'Apollon Pythien à Athènes. Par G. COLIN. Paris: A. Fontemoing, 1905. Pp. 178. 39 gravures, 2 planches hors texte. Fr. 10.

L'Administration Financière du Sanctuaire Pythique au IV. siècle avant J.-C. Par E. BOURGUET. Paris: Fontemoing, 1905. 8vo. Pp. 186. Fr. 5.

PROFESSORS COLIN and BOURGUET, who were entrusted with the publication of certain classes of Delphic inscriptions in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, have issued monographs on their provinces before the appearance of the definitive account of the excavations. Professor Colin deals with the inscriptions from the Athenian treasury which are concerned with the Athenian cult of Apollo Pythios and Professor Bourguet with those relating to the general financial administration of the sanctuary. Both books show careful and laborious treatment of the material, and, since the results are arrived at by the strictest accuracy and most scrupulous adherence to the actual data of the inscriptions, the soundness and modesty of the method go far to counterbalance the poverty of the material.

Professor Colin has the more attractive

field. Any light thrown on the relations of Athens to the great oracle would be of the utmost importance for the historian of the city and its intellectual development. Unfortunately, the discoveries have been as barren in this respect as in all others concerning the oracle. The inscriptions record the sending of 'theories' to Delphi, as they were sent to Delos and might be sent to any religious centre. Moreover, only one of them dates from the time of Greek independence; an inscription coming, significantly enough, not from the treasury. It shows Lyeurgus and Demades among the hieropoioi who composed the 'theory' and dedicated a tripod. Most of the others belong to the early years of Roman domination when the return of peace and material prosperity enabled the Athenians to indulge in the observance of the gods of their ancestors. These inscriptions may possibly retain some of the forms observed in the greater epochs, but in themselves they are little more than monuments of petty civic glory (*μικροπρέπεια*) and evidence of the well-known 'levitas' of the decadent Greek. More interesting perhaps are the few inscriptions which date from early imperial times and show the

Pythiad declining into a mere 'dodecad' (a sacrifice of twelve beasts). The one outstanding feature of these inscriptions—itsself no novelty—is the evidence which they afford of the continued importance of certain families in priestly functions.

Professor Bourguet, while his field is of less general interest, is concerned with the one new fact of importance which has been brought to light by the Delphic inscriptions. The discovery that the temple of Apollo was destroyed during the fourth century, before the Sacred War, is not only of capital importance to the historian of Delphi, but should have the greatest influence upon our estimate of literary evidence. The inscriptions upon which he comments—for, unlike Professor Colin, he does not give them *in extenso*—deal entirely with the period of the rebuild-

ing after this event. They date roughly from 364 to 305 B.C. and are far from forming a complete series. They are concerned indeed with three distinct bodies which were responsible for the administration of the specially raised funds. Without being full enough to give complete insight into the nature either of the funds or of their organisation, or being sufficiently typical to throw much light on the general nature of financial administration in Greece, they have a certain value in showing in what way a special emergency was met. Professor Bourguet, like Professor Colin, probably expected that much more would be revealed by the documents committed to his charge; but, having met with disappointment, they have both done well to make the most of the results of their inquiries.

THE GREEK MSS. IN THE AMBROSIAN LIBRARY.

Catalogus codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae. Digesserunt AEMIDIUS MARTINI et DOMINICUS BASSI. Tomi II. Mediolani impensis U. Hoepli. MCMVI. Pp. 1297. L. 50.

THE world of learning, especially the Northern world, is laid under a great debt by the appearance of the long-expected catalogue of the Ambrosian Library. The foundation of Card. Federico Borromeo contained the curious proviso that his college of Ambrosian Doctors were not to publish a catalogue of his library. Hence the inhabitant of Thule—though, once arrived in Lombardy, the critical benevolence of Mons. Antonio Ceriani and the kind readiness of Doctors Amelli, Mercati, and Ratti gave him all he wanted—unless he tore himself from his sea-coal fire, launched upon the sea, and traversed the usually icy fields of Eastern France and the horrors of the Gotthardbahn, was reduced to wonder what the treasures of the Ambrosiana might be. The twelve years' toil of Sigg. Martini and Bassi, with the benevolent co-operation of the Ambrosian

College, assisted by the enterprise of the firm of Hoepli, enables us to rifle this *gaza* at our ease. The labour of describing 1093 codices must have been gigantic: and with one editor in Milan, the other at Naples (for Sig. Martini now presides over the Nazionale in that city), and the printers in Turin, it is a marvel how any proofs arrived at their destination. The editors are to be unreservedly congratulated on their great work, which bears every mark of completeness and accuracy.

A brief introduction gives us the main facts of the history of the collection: Borromeo's two commissioners, one who swept the South of Italy, and the other who drew Greece and the islands; and the purchase of the library of G. V. Pinelli of Genoa. As the index shows, these three sources of supply account for the greater part of the library. Founded therefore almost at the same time as our Bodleian and upon this comprehensive and enlightened plan, it was launched upon its career of learning. Fourth in size among the great Italian collections, it has ever possessed a character of

its own. If it wants the gray perfections of the Laurenziana, the space and prospect of the Vatican—

hinc septem dominos videre colles
et totam licet aestimare Romam—

the architectural beauty of Cesena and Bergamo, and the manifold seductions of Divus Marcus, it suggests active learning more than any Italian library. Mons. Ceriani embarked in folios, the religious in their habit, the sober late Renaissance buildings, are an island of the Muses in the midst of new Milan. There are no greater names in Italian learning than Muratori and Mai, and Mons. Ceriani's own disciples are among the leading archivists of Italy, and await you whether down the long galleries of the Vatican or at the top of the endless mountain of Monte Cassino.

The editors do not announce new classical discoveries; as with other Italian libraries, the spectacled barbarian has mined and sounded too long to make that probable. The strength too of the Ambrosiana is hardly on the ancient side; with the exception of the codex pictus of Homer,¹ it has few classical MSS. of the first rank, books which unite importance of author and excellence of era, such as the Heidelberg Anthology or the Urbino Isocrates;² it presents rather a number of ugly but useful thirteenth or fourteenth century copies, stuffed with scholia and variants, of substantial value in the case of the Iliad and Aristophanes, and of primary importance for the less-favoured Theocritus and Pindar. The novelties of the catalogue are, as the authors say, to be looked for in patristic and Byzantine literature, and in the vast quantity of palaeographical and bibliographical detail which their industry has made available.

A reviewer should criticise if he can. I will therefore mention a few points which come within my own limited purview. The indices, though justly styled *locupletissimi*,

¹ Of which a facsimile is published by the same firm.

² It might have secured one, however, if Gratia Maria Gratius had bought the Ravenna Aristophanes at Pisa, where it seems then to have been, and had not left it to the Camaldulensian Caneti a hundred years later.

might have been still more convenient: thus the MSS. of Homer are collected under 'Homerus' without further distinction. The hasty inquirer (we are all hasty when we consult an index) for the *Batrachomyomachia* has to turn up thirty-six numbers before he is satisfied. The same is the case with the other classical authors. Why again do the editors quote the three MSS. of the Homeric Hymns according to the edition of Baumeister (1860)? There have been five editions since. And why do they keep alive the clumsy and unauthorised notation invented by Wolf? Moreover, no mortal eye for at least 2500 years has seen the Hymn to Apollo in two pieces. Therefore (under S 31 sup.) for 'I-II (in unum conflati)-IV. VI-XVIII 1-12 XIX-XXVI 1-13 XXVII-XXXII 1-19 XXXIII' read 'III-XXXIII.' No. 74 = A 181 sup. The age, in my humble opinion, is s. XIII, not XIV; text of the palimpsest s. XI, not s. X. One quire has fallen out (*i*), containing Ξ 289-II 305. No. 89 = B 39 sup. My notes give on f. 197 v., otherwise blank, an owner's name, *Jo. Mariae Catanaci*. No. 281 = E 35 sup. and 502 = L 112 sup. both belonged to Lionoro of Bologna.³ Their text (of the Iliad) also is identical, and 502 is the ancestor of 281. Similarly No. 441 = H 77 sup. was presented to its owner by the Duca d'Urbino. It contains the same text (of the Iliad) as Vat. Urbin. 136, and is its twin. To return to No. 502, this MS. belonged to an owner who calls himself in the genitive *λευκά* (so I read, though elsewhere it is *λονκά*) *τοῦ βωμφίλου*. The editors surmise the name is Bonfigli. May I add that our MS. Canonici gr. 86 has this form? (*τοῦ λούκα τοῦ βωμφίλου καὶ τῶν φίλων τῶν σπονδαίων*). The information was in print in a little work for which the reviewer was responsible in 1890.

No. 463 = I 58 sup. The same Constantinus Lucites appears with a similar inscription in Ottoboni 211. The verses in Ottob. which are partly illegible may be emended from the Milan copy. Further, in our MS. the verses read in line 2 *μακεδονίης* (not *ίης*), line 4 *ἐξ ὧν* (not *ὧν*).

³ Owner of the MS. Ferrara 116 N. A. 4 (Aeschylus, etc., s. xv.)

No. 486 = L 73 sup. This exceedingly interesting MS. was part of the library of the Polentani, despots of Ravenna: the house in which they entertained Dante is still shown. The legend stamped on the binding is given by the editors after Mai. According to my copy it runs

: s : [sc. sum] guidonis qda hostasii de poleta. There is no stroke above the *a* in qda nor above the *e* in poleta.

No. 1015 = E 56 inf. The hand resembles that of Scutariota.

The editors will be able to tell at a glance if these suggestions are correct. We have to thank them heartily for their labours, and to hope that the remaining Italian Greek collections—his Holiness's *Vaticani Greci*, the Venetian MSS. which Castellani left, and the fine library at Messina—may soon get into print. Publishers, to judge from the announcements, and librarians also, seem

set upon facsimiles: facsimiles have their uses, when the authors are judiciously chosen, but there is no such short cut to philological gratitude as a catalogue.

Since this notice was written, Monsignor Ceriani has passed away. According to the *Osservatore Romano* of March 6, 'nato ad Ubaldo il 1828, fu ordinato sacerdote nel 1852; fu insegnante nel Collegio di Mercate fino al 1854, entrò nella Biblioteca Ambrosiana nel 1856, e da 37 anni ormai ne era prefetto.' As a learned churchman and palaeographer he was the successor of Montfaucon, Muratori, Tillemont, and Mai. Generations of foreigners will miss his bent and striking figure, his piercing brown eye, and his snuff-box. 'Sia pace eterna all' anima benedetta dell' illustre Prelato milanese.'

T. W. ALLEN.

RHYTHM IN GREEK AND LATIN PROSE.¹

ARISTOTLE and Cicero are disappointingly brief on the subject of rhythm in prose. Prose, says Aristotle, in a well-known passage of the *Rhetoric* (iii 8), should be rhythmical but not metrical; yet the rhythm must not be too elaborate, and the paean is to be preferred to the dactyl, spondee, iambus, or trochee. Again, a period should begin and end with a long syllable: hence the 'first paean' (— ◡ ◡ ◡) makes the best beginning, and the fourth (◡ ◡ ◡ —) the best ending. As a matter of fact, the *Panegyric* of Isocrates, Aristotle's favourite model of artistic prose, begins with the 'first paean': πολλὰ κίς ἐ-|θαύμασα. But it does not end with the fourth. It ends with an anapaestic dimeter, followed by the twice repeated combination of a trochee and a spondee: καὶ τοῖς | ἅλλοις | μεγάλων | ἀγαθῶν | αἵτιοι δόξ|ουσιν εἶναι|. Here the last eight syllables exactly correspond to one of Cicero's 'clausulae,' *gentium virtute princeps*.

¹ *Die Rhythmen der Asianischen und Römischen Kunstprosa*, von Friedrich Blass. Leipzig: Deichert, 1905. Pp. 221. M. 6.

To the rhythm mentioned by Aristotle, the anapaest was added by Theophrastus. This may be inferred from a passage in the *De Oratore* (iii 185). In the *Orator* (212-5), Cicero approves of a period ending with a cretic (*prodeant*), or with a double trochee (*comprobavit*). He adds that, in a speech of Carbo's, the latter word was received with a remarkable outburst of applause: *tantus clamor contionis excitatus est, ut admirabile esset*. But when Cicero insists on the applause that followed the final word *comprobavit*, he apparently gives the double trochee the entire credit of a result which must have been partly due to the epigrammatic point and antithetic form of the sentence as a whole:—*patris dictum sapiens temeritas filii comprobavit*. I may add that, in my own experience, I have often found that the ear of even a modern audience is sensitive to the effect produced by ending a Latin sentence with a double trochee.

Quintilian, after noting the popularity of the double trochee, adds that the cretic is as

effective at the beginning as at the end (ix 4, 105). He also states that the rhythm of the Demosthenic phrase $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\iota\varsigma$ is (by the resolution of $\kappa\alpha\iota$ into two short syllables) exactly represented in Cicero's favourite ending:—*esse videatur* (ix 4, 73; x 2, 18).

Rhythmical endings remained in use in Latin prose to the end of the Roman age (c. 529 A.D.). They have been traced from Cyprian down to Cassiodorus, who stands on the threshold of the Middle Ages, while the first who, in these *clausulae*, gives effect to accent instead of quantity is St. Augustine. The *clausulae* are supposed to have fallen out of use at the beginning of the Middle Ages, i.e. in the time of Gregory the Great (d. 601), and to have been revived by Pietro Damiani (d. 1072). But it was not until after the death of the latter that the official use of the accentual equivalents of the old *clausulae* was restored by Urban II (1088–99), who, for this very purpose, called Giovanni Caetani from Monte Cassino and set him over the Papal Chancery.

In the Revival of Learning one of the most successful of the imitators of the style of Cicero was Paolo Cortesi, who, at the age of twenty-five, dedicated to Lorenzo in the year 1490 his celebrated dialogue 'On Learned Men.' It includes a series of highly finished criticisms on the style of all the great modern Italian writers of Latin from Dante down to the author's own day. The secret of its success lay partly in the fact that the author had discovered for himself the importance of a *rhythmical structure* in the composition of Ciceronian prose:

'Mea quidem sententia est, orationem Latinam numerosa quadam structura contineri oportere, quae adhuc omnino a nostris hominibus ignoratur.'—*De Hominibus Doctis*, p. 23, ed. Galletti.

Erasmus, in his *Ciceronianus* (1528), makes sport of the ultra-Ciceronian, who reserves one of his three vast dictionaries for a collection of all the varieties of rhythm used at the beginning, middle, and end of the sentences of Cicero. Curiously enough, only two years later, Erasmus published among the works of Cyprian a treatise *De duplici martyrio*, the spuriousness of which

has recently been determined partly by the fact that it ignores the rhythms recognised in the genuine works of Cyprian¹; and it is supposed² to have been written by Erasmus himself. The practice of Cicero is in general followed in the Orations of Muretus. Gaspar Scioppius, the Jesuit opponent of the great Scaliger, ends his work *De arte critica* (1597) by pointing out that Cicero's favourite *clausulae* are five in number: (1) $\text{—} \cup \cup \cup \text{—} | \text{—} \cup$, (2) $\text{—} \cup \text{—} \cup$, (3) $\text{—} \cup \text{—} | \text{—} \cup \cup$, (4) $\text{—} \text{—} | \text{—} \cup \cup$, and (5) $\text{—} \text{—} | \text{—} \text{—}$. I add my own examples of each: (1) *esse videatur*, (2) *sempiternam*, (3) *cedit audaciae*, (4) *stipatum sumus*, and (5) *condonaverunt*. The four types selected in 1606 by G. J. Vossius, in his *Rhetoric* (IV iv § 4) are all of them quadrisyllabic: (1) $\text{—} \cup \text{—} \cup$, (2) $\cup \text{—} \text{—} \cup$, (3) $\cup \cup \text{—} \cup$, and (4) $\text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \cup$; but they do not mark any advance in the study of the subject.

In recent times the whole question has been revived. Thus the relation between Cicero's precepts and his practice has been elaborately discussed by Wuest (1881), who, however, confined his attention to eighteen of the Speeches, resigning the examination of the rest to any 'who were endued with *otii copia* and *ferrea constantia*.' Six of the Speeches were carefully analysed by E. Müller (1886), who traced eight types of *clausulae*, which (as has been shown by Norden) may be reduced to three:—the double trochee, the double cretic, and the cretic followed by the trochee (the last syllable in each of the three being either short or long). The question was further advanced by Julius Wolff (1901), on the basis of an examination of ten Speeches. The study of the subject has also been fruitfully carried on in France. Finally, by the heroic industry of Zielinski, the investigation has been extended to all the Speeches, a task involving the classification of no less than 17,902 examples. The primary types have thus been ascertained to be six in number. (The verbal examples here selected appear to be the best specimens of each type.)

¹ Norden, *Kunstprosa*, 946 n.

² By F. Lezius, in *Neue Jahrb. f. deutsche Theologie*, 1895, 95 f, 184 f.

(1) <i>morte vicerunt.</i>	- - - - -	- - - - -
(2) <i>cessit audaciae.</i>	- - - - -	- - - - -
(3) <i>andeat indicare.</i>	- - - - -	- - - - -
(4) <i>spiritum pertimescerem.</i>	- - - - -	- - - - -
(5) <i>commodis omnibus careret.</i>	- - - - -	- - - - -
(6) <i>supplices vestri habere debeant.</i>	- - - - -	- - - - -

It will be observed that all these forms consist of a cretic base followed by a trochaic cadence of two or more syllables. In the last five, a molossus (- - -) may be substituted for the first cretic, e.g. (2) *possem cognoscere*, (3) *decreto restitutus*, (4) *libertas vestra tollitur*, (5) *leges mutare noluerunt*, and (6) *et nos existimare possumus*.

The first three types (of the two classes taken together) occur in 60.3 per cent of Cicero's *clausulae*, and the fourth in 26.5 per cent. So that these types alone account for 86.8 per cent of the whole. Types five and six are comparatively rare. The small remainder is mainly made up of other types which cannot be here set forth in full. The most frequent of these types are (a) - - - - | - - - -, (b) - - - - | - - - -, and (c) - - - - | - - - - |. The best examples are (a) *consules designati*, (b) *cum gemitu civitatis*, and (c) *postea nil audierunt*. These three make about 6 per cent of the whole.

Further details may be found in Zielinski's *Chauselgesetz* (Leipzig, 1904), and in the careful reviews of that work published in the *American Journal of Philology*, xxv 453 f. and the *Classical Review*, xix 164 f. After my attention had been drawn to these results, I took care that the ten brief *encomia* which it was my duty to prepare for the Senate House in June, 1905, should be in accordance with the new lights, and, I may add that the practice thus acquired led to my finding myself repeating the process at a later date with hardly any conscious effort. It would obviously have been still easier for anyone, whose native language was Latin, to keep these rules by a sense of instinct or by a certain tact acquired by a natural susceptibility to a rhythmical sequence of sound. The rhythm of the close of a period is clearly more prominent than that of any other part: it is also more strictly observed; and it is this alone that has been the subject of Zielinski's elaborate investigation.

This limitation is, however, disapproved by Professor Blass, who makes the rhythm of artistic prose depend, not on the metrical value of the close of the period, but on the *symmetrical correspondences between the clauses within the period*. The work mentioned at the head of this article was published late in 1905, but a request to review it has only reached me at a very recent date. In this work the author carefully examines the rhythms prevailing in artistic Attic prose, and analyses many passages in Isocrates and Plato. Passing from the Attic to the Asiatic rhythm, he holds that the founder of the latter was Hegesias of Magnesia (270 B.C.), who is familiar to us in the pages of Cicero, and whose style was characterised by the author of *The Attic Orators* as 'a curious combination between jerkiness and magniloquence.' The remains of Hegesias are here analysed, with an indication of his preference for certain metrical forms, among which is the double trochee. The Asiatic rhythm is even exemplified in lengthy extracts from the Epistles to the Hebrews and the Galatians, and the latter part of the First Epistle to the Corinthians; it is also illustrated from the pages of Pausanias, who was himself an Asiatic, having probably been a native of Magnesia ad Sipylum. Then follows a sketch of the beginnings of rhythmical prose among the Romans, with some account of the theory and practice in the case of Cicero. Passages in the *pro Milone* and other Speeches are analysed with a view to exhibiting the correspondence between the several clauses within the period. The variety of the rhythms of Cicero is subsequently contrasted with the monotony of those of Seneca, Q. Curtius, and Apuleius, though in the last of these three writers a larger element of Greek freedom is recognised.

The Appendix includes an analysis of selected passages from Isocrates, Demosthenes,

Plato, and the Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία. Only three years previously, some of these had been analysed by the same author, but on different principles, in his *Rhythmen der Attischen Kunstprosa* (1901). The symmetry of the clauses of the peroration of the *De Corona* was there set forth, and it was shown that the ratio of the long to the short syllables was 7 to 3, a ratio resulting in a stately and impressive type of rhythm. With this result we might well have been content, but, in the present work, the author returns to the same peroration, and awakens our misgivings by marking off the correspondences of rhythms in part of the passage, as follows:—

ἐξώλεις καὶ πρώ-
λεις ἐν γῇ καὶ θαλάτ-
τῃ ποιήσατε.

Such a division seems unnatural, and therefore unconvincing. The author admits that the rhythm of the last of the three fractions of this sentence can only be made to correspond to that of the other two (_ _ _ _ _), by virtually prolonging the first syllable:—τῇ. If Demosthenes had delivered this passage on these principles, I doubt whether the result would have received the applause of his audience.

The example just quoted may serve as an illustration of the author's admission that his rhythms are 'completely independent' of the thought, and of the structure of the clauses. But, if the rhythms are really 'independent' of the thought, how can we reconcile this contention with the author's own Index,

which shows that, on five of his pages, he deals with *mimetic* rhythms in Attic writers, and, in other parts of his book, with *mimetic* rhythms in Cicero and St. Paul? If the rhythm of those writers sometimes depends on the sense, and if our author's rhythms do not, it would follow that our author's rhythms are not always the same as those of the original writers.

Even a German reviewer has described the present work as far from easy reading, and the same will probably be the feeling of English scholars, who have a grateful remembrance of the lucid style of the eminent author's *Attische Beredsamkeit*. Those, however, who desire to read a brief and clear statement of the author's views on the Rhythm of Attic Prose may be glad to turn from the present German work to the English article which Professor Blass, as an honorary Doctor of Dublin, has recently contributed to the current number of *Hermathena*.

J. E. SANDYS.

P.S.—The above was written on Feb. 28, and the proof returned for press on March 15. On the very next day, I learnt from an obituary notice in the *Athenæum* that Prof. Blass had died on the 5th of March, at the time when my review was in the hands of the printer. I cordially agree with all that Prof. Mahaffy has said in his noble tribute to the memory of our friend. A notice of his life and work will be found in another column.

J. E. S.

JULIAN THE APOSTATE.

Julian the Apostate. By GAETANO NEGRI. Translated from the second Italian edition by the DUCHESS LITTA-VISCONTI-ARESE. With an Introduction by Prof. P. VILLARI. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1905. Royal 8vo. 2 Vols. Pp. xxxiv + vi + 636. Eight Plates. 21s.

THIS is an important and interesting book, but we must add that we rise from its perusal with a certain feeling of disappointment.

It is a posthumous work, the production of an Italian politician, Senator Gaetano Negri, of whose curiously varied life Prof. Villari gives a vivid portrait in the introduction. Revolutionary Italian patriot, lieutenant in the army of Victor Emanuel, public official and Syndic of Milan, and eventually Senator, Negri found himself in middle life by a turn of the wheel of politics ousted from his former position of ascendancy and reduced to political inaction. Like a wise

man he did not spend the remaining years of his life in vain complaints or vainer struggles to retain his lost power, but turned his hand to literary work.

‘He now gave to the world a large number of essays—historical and critical essays—essays on philosophy and on religion. He wrote on subjects of every kind: of every age, whether ancient or modern: of every part of the world.’

So says Prof. Villari. I suspect he feels with us that this multifariousness of discourse prevented his friend from attaining supreme excellence in any single department; and hence that slight feeling of disappointment which mingles with our admiration for an industrious and sometimes brilliant performance.

The fact that this rich and varied life was ended in 1902 by a slip among the hills of the Riviera, which caused a fall, fatal though only from a rock twelve or thirteen feet high, is one of those pathetic instances of disproportioned cause and effect which might have inspired some additional lines in Johnson’s ‘Vanity of Human Wishes.’

The plan of Senator Negri’s book is a rather peculiar one. In the first 140 pages he gives a rapid sketch of the life of Julian. There is no attempt here to go into any detail as to the military career or political administration of the Emperor, and though the handsomely printed pages afford one some very pleasant reading, it cannot be said that a careful student of Gibbon will find that this part of the book adds greatly to the sum of his knowledge. All the remaining 480 pages of the book are devoted practically to the discussion of Julian’s attitude towards the Christian religion and his attempt to re-establish Hellenistic polytheism as the religion of the Empire.

It strikes us that there is here some want of balance in the subjects touched upon. Doubtless the so-called ‘Apostasy’ of Julian—a reproachful epithet, which no fair-minded Christian should have applied to him—is and will ever be the most interesting fact in his mental history; but in a large and important work like this we had some right to expect a review of the political and military administration of the Empire under the family of

Constantine, a sketch of Gaul as it existed when Julian was reigning at Lutetia Parisiorum, and a rather fuller discussion of the reasons why Julian failed in that attack on the Persian Kingdom in which Heraclius—assuredly not an abler man than he—succeeded 270 years later. It is the absence of this kind of discussion, which makes us feel the book, as we have said, somewhat disappointing; and on the other hand the treatment of Julian’s religious adventure is rather diffuse and not quite free from needless repetitions.

Still it is plain what was Senator Negri’s motive for entering on this period of history and we must not unreasonably complain of his having followed the bent of his genius. An Italian, like so many of his countrymen, alienated probably by his very patriotism from the teachings of the Catholic Church, but not able to accept any other form of Christianity, a rationalist, yet one who ‘recognised the irresistible yearning for faith that is common to all mankind,’ he felt himself placed midway between Julian and Athanasius and could in a certain sense admire both, while he agreed with neither. He fully recognises and indeed insists almost to weariness upon the hopelessness of Julian’s attempt to revive the dead polytheism of Greece, and yet he sees that there was something noble, something of a striving after a purer morality than Christian Constantinople and Antioch practised, even in that very contention. As he says, ‘Julian understood that to save the Empire it was not necessary to embrace Christianity as Constantine had done, or to persecute it like Diocletian, but rather to create something that responded in part to those needs which found their satisfaction in Christianity, and at the same time preserved the basis of ancient thought and civilisation. For this purpose he initiated that movement which we have called the Christianisation of Paganism.’ This seems to us to be well and truly said; but the author might have added that the changes wrought by Julian’s uncle tended, whether he intended it or not, towards the Paganisation of Christianity.

Perhaps the greatest merit of Negri’s book consists in the careful study which he has

given to Julian's own writings. He seems to have steeped himself in these, if he has not very thoroughly assimilated the rest of the literature of Julian's age. In one instance, as Prof. Villari has pointed out, he has too readily accepted as authentic a series of letters (the so-called letters of Iamblicus) on whose genuineness recent criticism has thrown great suspicion.

The translation of Negri's book, if accomplished, as we suppose is the case by an Italian lady, deserves the highest praise. The English is clear and following, and only here and there do we meet with an unusual locution, suggestive of a foreign hand. Only we must be allowed to express our regret that the translator did not by referring to the index to Gibbon, get some of the proper names into forms more consonant with English usage. Sallustius, Gratianus and Valentinianus, though perfectly correct, happen not to be the forms under which their names generally appear in our histories. The name of the Church historian Sozomenes

which recurs with irritating frequency, is of course wrong: it should be either Sozomen or Sozomenus. Sirmio suggests the villa of Catullus instead of the great Pannonian city of Sirmium. Another error is the rendering of the national name Alamanni, the stubborn antagonists of Julian, whose seven kings were defeated at the battle of Strassburg, by the word Germans which here strikes the wrong note, and in a vague racial designation hides the nationality of an important tribe.

Still more important is the mistranslation of Britannia (on page 75) by Brittany instead of Britain. The right distinction however between the British Island and the Armorican peninsula in the fourth and fifth centuries often makes a snare and a trap for modern historians. The passages here referred to are important as showing that not only ships but also large supplies of corn could be collected from our island in the middle of the fourth century for the purposes of Julian's warfare beyond the Rhine.

THOMAS HODGKIN.

SHORT NOTICES

Herodotus IV. By E. S. SHUCKBURGH, Litt.D. Cambridge: University Press, 1906. 4s.
Thucydides. Book I. By E. C. MARCHANT. London: Macmillan and Co., 1905. 3s. 6d.
Selections from Thucydides, Book VI. By PERCY ÛRE. London: John Murray, 1906. 2s. 6d.
Selections from Plutarch's Life of Caesar. By R. L. A. DU PONTET. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906. 2s.
Livy, the Second Macedonian War. By W. J. HEMSLEY and JOHN ASTON. London: Blackie and Son, 1s. 6d.
M. Tulli Ciceronis pro Sexto Roscio Amerino Oratio. Edited by J. C. NICOL. Cambridge: University Press, 1905. 2s. 6d.
C. Plini Caecili Secundi Epistularum Liber Sextus. Edited by J. D. DUFF. Cambridge: University Press, 1906. 2s. 6d.

These are school books of the old type. Notes of all sorts are jumbled up together, some meant for very beginners, others for advanced students. There is no evidence that the editors know what are the needs of young boys, or how to meet them intelligently.

A vocabulary, for instance, is out of place in any edition of Thucydides. Of the above, the most suitable for boys are the selections from Plutarch and the letters of Pliny. The latter is admirable, except that the long vowels are not marked, as they should be for young students.

A History of the Revised Version of the New Testament. By SAMUEL HEMPHILL, Litt.D. Elliot Stock. 3s. 6d.

This is a very painstaking and interesting piece of work. The writer concludes that 'the work of revision must be done over again, at least in the Gospels, on the same principles that found favour with the Old Testament revisers.'

Euripides and the Spirit of his Dramas. By PAUL DECHARME, translated by JAMES LOEB. London: Macmillan and Co. Pp. xix + 392. 12s. 6d. net.

The translation is well done, but it seems a pity that the graceful French of the late Prof. Decharme should not be read in the original.

We trust that scholars will read this book. It illustrates the thoroughness of the modern French classical school, and it shows also that the heresies of Dr. Verrall are by no means peculiar to himself. Chapter II. was written before *Euripides the Rationalist*, but there is scarcely an idea in the latter the germ of which is not to be found in the former.

The Progress of Hellenism in Alexander's Empire. By J. P. MAHAFFY. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 5s.

This is a book evidently intended for the general reader. It is an attractive *résumé* of the social and political forces at work in the kingdoms of the Diadochi. Perhaps the least satisfactory portion is that dealing with Hellenism and Christianity. We note with pleasure that a chapter is devoted to Xenophon as the precursor of Hellenism.

The Second Athenian Confederacy. By F. H. MARSHALL. Cambridge: University Press. 3s. 6d.

Mr. Marshall's essay is characterised by scholarly cautiousness. After a rapid but clear summary of the events leading to the formation of the confederacy, he discusses with as much detail as the scanty evidence permits the constitutional principles involved—more especially the mutual relations, administrative and judicial, of synedrion, boulé, and ecclesia. The latter half of the book deals with the general history of the confederacy from 378 to 337.

Outlines from Plato. By F. P. LONG. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, and London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., 1905. Pp. 95. 2s. 6d. net.

We have in this book a most praiseworthy and lucid attempt to explain Plato's metaphysics, not by reading into him the speculations of recent philosophers, but by utilising modern philosophic thought to put the Platonic doctrines in the clearest light. We note with great pleasure the full quotations, and the fairness with which the author deals with 'heretics' like Professor Jackson. The only grumble we have to make is that some attempt should have been made to connect the passages quoted and discussed with their context in the dialogue from which they are taken.

An Abridged History of Greek Literature. By ALFRED CROISSET and MAURICE CROISSET. Authorized Translation by GEORGE F. HEFFELBOWER. London: Macmillan and Co., 1904. Pp. x+569. 10s. 6d. net.

The translation is marred by some misprints among the Greek words. The authors in their Preface say that they address themselves to pupils of secondary schools. This would be a useful book of reference for sixth form boys and candidates for classical honours in our universities.

The Clarendon Press sends us three volumes edited by J. CHURTON COLLINS, Litt.D. They are Matthew Arnold's *Merope* with Whitelaw's translation of the *Electra* of Sophocles (3s. 6d.); Sophocles' *Antigone*, translated by Whitelaw (1s. net); Euripides' *Alcestis*, translated by Kynaston (1s. net). We cannot believe that Greek masterpieces in translations, however ably done, can afford suitable material for school lessons in English literature. The curriculum is overcrowded already. The translation of *Alcestis* is poorly done. All these books are loaded with notes and introductions after the fashion of the bad type of school book. Translations, however, are sometimes useful for history lessons. Ancient history especially might well be taught with Plutarch for a basis. Of the translations of Plutarch's *Lives* (vols. i. and ii.), edited by Dr. Emil Reich (Swan Sonnenschein and Co., 3s. 6d. net), it must be said that the style is not good, and the indexing is not complete. A more thorough revision of proofs would be desirable. The same series (*New Classical Library*) contains also a translation of Tacitus, *Annals* i.–vi., and of the very difficult Platonic dialogues, *Theaetetus* and *Philebus*. In the latter volume Mr. Carlill's introductions and essays will be very useful to the serious student of Plato, but the translation is not pleasant to read.

Mr. F. P. Long has made a scholarly translation of *Caesar's Civil War with Pompeius* with Introduction and Notes (Clarendon Press, pp. xxviii+228, 3s. 6d. net). It would make an excellent text-book for sixth form boys who are studying Roman history.

CORRESPONDENCE

MALARIA IN ANCIENT GREECE.

The recent investigation into the prevalence of malaria in Greece raises the question whether the disease was one factor in the change which came over the national character after 400 B.C. Without definitely formulating any theory, we should like to call attention to the following facts.

(1) The Hippocratic writings show that enlargement of the spleen was very common during the fourth century B.C. Although a symptom of other diseases, enlargement of the spleen would scarcely have been so prominent a feature in these writings unless it occurred in the marked form characteristic of malarial diseases. In one case it is definitely associated with marshy places (περὶ αἱμάτων κ.τ.λ. pp. 532, 533, Kühn).

(2) The Hippocratic writings afford no evidence that malaria existed in Attica. But

(a) Attica is subject to malaria at the present time (Hirsch, *Handbook of Geographical and Historical Pathology*, p. 213); (b) the Decelean War, by causing the land to lie waste for several years, produced a condition of the soil most favourable for malaria (Hirsch, *op. cit.* pp. 273, 274). Cf. the state of Italy after Hannibal's invasion.

(3) Malaria causes degeneracy—physical, moral, and mental. The most marked symptom is dissatisfaction, or even despair. Greek thought during the fourth and third centuries B.C. shows this characteristic.

We ask readers of the *Classical Review*, who know of evidence affecting this interesting question, to bring it forward.

W. H. S. JONES.

G. G. ELLETT, M.B.

TRANSLATION

VERSES BY STATIUS (*SILVAE* ii. 7) TO COMMEMORATE LUCAN'S BIRTHDAY, ADDRESSED TO HIS WIDOW, POLLA.

Lucan's birthday let him keep,
who on Dione's Isthmian steep
hath drunken at the hoofstruck rill,
and felt the bard's ecstatic thrill.

And ye, the patrons of our quire,
Arcadian finder of the lyre,
Euan, with all thy frenzied train,
and thou, whose music stills our pain,
Paeon, and ye, Hyantian maids,
for joy do on fresh crimson braids,
your tresses prank, and robes of white
with freshest sprays of ivy dight!

Ye streams of Poesy, o'erflow;
Aonian woods, make braver show;
and where the garish gaps invade,
hang lissom wreaths to eke the shade.
Let hundred fragrant altars stand
amid the groves of Thespian land:

what victim every altar craves,
Cithaeron feeds and Dirce laves.
Lucan we sing: ye Muses, say
naught of ill omen; yours the day!
Who doubly served you—lo! 'tis he!—
in measure-fettered words and free,
high-priest of Latin minstrelsy.

Thou blessed shore—blest, ah! too well—
that on the high Atlantic swell,
where Hyperion westering steals,
dost hear the hiss of plunging wheels—
thy Baetic olives those may brave
Tritonis erst to Athens gave!
Thou, when thou gavest Lucan birth,
didst lay a heavier debt on earth
than e'en for Seneca we owe
or for the gentle Gallio.
Rear, Baetis, rear thy waters high,

o'er Homer's Meles, to the sky !
with Baetis Mantua may not vie !

As on the ground new-born he lies
and utters plaintive baby cries,
Calliope the child hath prest
upon her gentle fostering breast :
and now at last her grief was gone,
her long lament for Orpheus done.

'Child,' said she, 'vowed to Muses' lore,
soon to outstrip the bards of yore,
thy lyre shall beasts nor rivers thrill
nor Getic ash-trees own thy skill ;
but where the seven mountains stand
and Mars is Lord by Tiber strand
a Senate robed in purple grain
and cultured knights shall list thy strain.

'Let others tell of Trojan sack,
and slow Ulysses wandering back,
or the bold ship Minerva sped,
and still the trodden cycle tread :
thou. Latium's darling, thou shalt say
in bolder tone thy Roman lay.
Thy prelude Hector's fate shall be
and vengeful car of Thessaly,
how humbled Priam proffer'd gold
thou'lt sing, and Hell's dread realm unfold.
Then flattering theatres shall hear
thy praise of Nero—paid so dear !
My Orpheus next thy voice shall claim,
and Rome ablaze, her prince's shame.

'Then, spoken to chaste Polla's ear,
thy joyous words her fame shall rear.
Soon manhood comes, and grander strain
sings white with bones Philippi's plain,
the heroes at Pharsalia slain,
that levin-flashing Deity,
and Cato's patriot piety ;
while o'er great Pompey's cherished name
Canopus' crime, Pelusium's shame,
a loftier monument thy praise
than Pharos' bloodstained tower shall raise.
Yet still thy Muse will younger be
than Maro's earliest poetry.

'Rude Ennius' trumpet-blast of yore
and learn'd Lucretius' fervid lore
shall yield to thee, and Argo's crew,
and all the changelings Ovid drew.
What more?—a raptured Rome shall see
the Aeneid's self bow down to thee !

Glory of verse not thine alone,
by genial torchlight thou shalt own
as skilled a maid, thy complement,
as Venus e'er and Juno sent,
for sweetness, modesty, and face,
fortune and lineage, charm and grace ;
and at your doors the wedding-song
myself with joyous notes prolong !

'But woe the while ! Ah ! cruel fate !
the best may never linger late :
the tallest tops draw fortune's rage :
the choicest youth ne'er wins to age.
The Nasamonian Thunderer's son,
his lightning course too soon out-run,
lies in a grave in Babylon.
So Thetis mourned Achilles dead,
so followed I my Orpheus' head
still uttering music as of yore
while Hebrus moan'd along the shore.
So thou—ah ! cruel despot's crime !—
to Lethe sent before thy time !
While still thy noble song doth shed
a solace o'er the mighty dead—
ah ! cruel wrong !—thy life is sped !'

She ceased ; and from the quill she bears
she brushed the lightly-falling tears.
But thou, if down from realms on high
where Fame's proud chariot mounts the sky,
and nobler souls find ampler room,
thou smil'st at pomp of earthly tomb—

or happy in thy well-earn'd rest
mid climes remote among the blest,
while round Pharsalian heroes throng,
Pompeys and Catos list thy song,
august and proud, a mighty shade,
thou dwellest in Elysian glade,
aloof from Tartarus, and dost hear
afar the pangs the guilty fear,
or see'st pale Nero cowering stand
before his mother's vengeful brand—
come, radiant spirit, beg one day
—'tis Polla's prayer—of those who sway
the silent realms : they do not hide
a spouse returning to his bride.

No wanton ritual offers she
to waxen sham of deity,
but thee doth worship and adore
deep treasured in her own heart's core.
And yet some shadowy solace lends
thy golden counterfeit, that tends

her couch, and watches o'er her sleep,
safe from all cares thy wife to keep.
Avaunt! all grisly shapes of Death!
Here is the fount of living breath.

All violence of grief give o'er:
fall tears of joy, lament no more,
let all, that mourn'd him once, adore!
C. GORE CHAMBERS.

ARCHAEOLOGY

MONTHLY RECORD.

GREECE.

Sunium.—On the terrace of the temple of Poseidon a colossal archaic figure of a youth of the 'Apollo' type and part of a similar figure have been found. The bases of the statues were discovered in a depression in the rock. It is clear that after the Persian invasion the débris from votive offerings, etc., was used in the construction of the terrace.¹

Leukas.—Dr. Dörpfeld continued his excavations in 1906, and in the plain of Nidris found remains of a settlement over a mile long, which he holds to be the town of Ithaka. About two hours S.W. of this an archaic Greek temple has been discovered under the cloister of S. Johannes; it has early Doric columns without, Ionic columns within. Another hour to the S.W. a series of stone implements and monochrome sherds corresponding to those of Troja II. and Knossos I. have been excavated.¹

Crete.—At Phaestos the Italians have cleared the slope to the south of the Palace. Remains of houses of the Kamáres period have been discovered; above them are the supporting wall of a Mycenaean palace and the foundations of an archaic Greek temple. The finds include large pithoi decorated with paintings and reliefs, polychrome vases (in the older palace), a double-axe in bronze, a small hut-urn, etc. At Prinia fortifications of Hellenistic date have been discovered. Besides these a Mycenaean stèle with a standing figure in relief, and numerous fragments of pithoi with reliefs representing chariot-races, horsemen, a hare-hunt, etc., have been found. At Sitia, in East Crete, a settlement has been found within a ring-wall on a hill crest. Here were discovered terracotta figures resembling those from Petsofa, clay vessels with geometrical ornamentation, and

¹ *Athen. Mitt.* 1906, part 3.

Middle Minoan ware. The settlement is of importance as showing the style of building in vogue in the period preceding that of the great palaces.¹

Elatea.—Pre-Mycenaean graves have been excavated, containing vases related to the 'Kamáres' ware of Crete.¹

Thessaly.—The temple of Apollo Κοροπαῖος on the Pagasaean Gulf has been excavated successfully. Many remains of terracotta decoration have been found, together with terracotta votive offerings, a mass of b.f. vase fragments, and a stone omphalos.¹

ASIA MINOR.

Rhodes.—The Danish excavations at Lindos have led to the discovery of an early temple, in and around which numerous geometrical vase fragments and bronze figures of animals have been found. The necropolis of the town has been located and will be excavated next season. Three new demes of Lindos—Netteidai, Brasioi, and Pagioi—have been identified.¹

Pergamum.—The chief work in 1906 was carried out on the site of the Gymnasium τῶν νέων. Here was found an inscription from the architrave of a temple dedicated by Attalos II. to Hera Basileia. A portion of the city wall on the East side was laid bare, with a gate and three towers. Remains of wall-paintings were discovered in the so-called 'House of Attalos.' Traces of decoration resembling the first style of Pompeian wall-painting can be seen: other decoration resembles in style the paintings of the Prima Porta, showing a balustrade with birds and a vase, etc. In the plain, two graves have been opened, each containing a stone sarcophagus. One is a warrior's tomb, distinguished by its well-preserved gold crown of oak-leaves decorated with a small figure of Nikè. The exploration of the aqueducts

confirmed the opinion that water was, in Roman times, brought from Soma, in the upper valley of the Kaikos. In the course of the examination of this district, the old main-road from Pergamum to the Hermos valley was traced. The route is one still traversed in summer by camels.²

AFRICA.

Bulla Regia.—Further interesting discoveries have been made. In what is apparently the forum of the town a building has been excavated, composed of a paved court, surrounded by porticoes and terminated by three chambers lying side by side. In the middle room three statues were found, representing Apollo, Ceres, and Aesculapius respectively. The room on the right contained a large number of fragments from inscriptions, from which it appears that the three deities in question were worshipped here as the guardians of the city. These inscriptions also mention other public

² *Arch. Anz.* 1906, part 4.

buildings in the city—the *rostra*, the *tabularium*, and a temple of Diana.³

PORTUGAL.

In May 1906 a bronze tablet with a Latin inscription was found near Aljustrel, in the province of Alenteis, near the southern extremity of Portugal. It gives regulations for the management of mines. It is apparently connected with the *Metallum Vipascense* inscription, which was found near the same spot (see *Eph. Epigr.*, III., p. 165 ff.). The most important point, however, is the fact that the present inscription can be dated to the second half of the second century after Christ, whereas the *Metallum Vipascense* inscription belongs apparently to the second half of the first century. The recently discovered inscription would seem therefore to be of a supplementary character.⁴

F. H. MARSHALL.

³ *Acad. des Inscr.* Nov. 1906.

⁴ *Bull. della Comm. Arch.* 1906, part 4.

REPORT.

TRACES of Romano-British *villa* life are being explored in the neighbourhood of Petersfield, in Hampshire, by the boys of Bedales School, under the direction of A. Moray Williams, B.A. A start was made in 1904 on the site of the Bramdean Villa, part of which was originally brought to light in 1823. Here the work was confined practically to two chambers in the north wing. Judging from the accounts and plan of the original excavation, it would appear that this was a large *villa* of the Courtyard type.

In the spring of 1905 Roman *debris* was found scattered about in a wood near West Meon, some two miles south of Bramdean. Foundations of a house were discovered a couple of feet below the soil, and during the two seasons of 1905 and 1906 an excavation was carried out which has brought to light a house of a somewhat rare form—conforming to neither of the two usual types (Courtyard and Corridor) of Romano-British dwelling-house. It comprises a rectangular area measuring only 140 by 45 feet, at the north end of which is a group of ten dwelling-rooms. The south end is occupied by out-houses on a higher, and a group of baths on a lower level. The centre seems to have been an open court entered by what may have been once an elaborate gateway on the east. Of the dwelling-rooms, three were paved with a patterned mosaic, two alone of which remain *in situ*. One of these is wonderfully perfect. No trace of any corridor was found in this house.

The fact that at Carisbrooke and at Clanville (both

in this Hampshire region) similar houses have been found would seem to suggest that a distinct type of Roman *villa* has been discovered. A preliminary account of this West Meon villa appeared in the *Archaeological Journal* last year (Vol. lxii. No. 248, pp. 262–264), and the illustrated report of the completed excavations will shortly be in print.

This season a new site will be explored. Work will be begun, in a few weeks' time, on a *villa* that lies near Petersfield—some seven miles east of West Meon. This house also promises to be an interesting one, though much has probably been disturbed by the plough. It has never, as far as can be ascertained, previously been excavated. Situated on the 'Folkstone Beds,' its masonry is characterized by sandstone walls and an entire absence of flint, whereas in the West Meon house, which lies upon the chalk, flint is the chief architectural feature. A preliminary investigation last year revealed a group of four small rooms, of which two are still paved to an extent with a patterned mosaic. Judging from the area over which *debris* is scattered, this *villa* will probably prove to be a large one.

For future seasons, two more sites have been definitely marked down for excavation, on each of which it is expected that a *villa* will be found. One is near Droxford, some five miles south of West Meon; the other at Froxfield, two miles north of Petersfield. It is hoped, therefore, that before long some additional light may be thrown on the Romanisation of this part of Britain.

A. M. WILLIAMS.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Publishers and Authors forwarding Books for review are asked to send at the same time a note of the price.

The size of Books is given in inches: 4 inches = 10 centimetres (roughly). They are unbound unless the binding is specified.

. *Excerpts and Extracts from Periodicals and Collections are not included in these Lists unless stated to be separately published.*

- Aeschylus in English Verse.* Part II. Prometheus Bound, The Suppliant Maidens, by Arthur S. Way, M.A. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5". Pp. 106. London, Macmillan & Co. 1907. Cloth, 3s. 6d. net.
- Ameis* (Karl Friedrich), see *Homer*.
- Aristides*, see *Geffcken: Zwei griechische Apologeten*.
- Athenagoras*, see *Geffcken: Zwei griechische Apologeten*.
- Brakman* (C.) *Sidoniana et Boethiana*. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 38. Trajecti ad Rhenum, Kemink et Fils. 1904. M. 1.50.
- Didymos*, see *Foucart* (P.).
- Edwards* (G. M.) *Colloquia Latina*, adapted from Erasmus, with notes and vocabulary, by G. M. E., M.A. (*Pitt Press Series*.) 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. xxiv + 136. Cambridge, University Press. 1906. Cloth, 1s. 6d.
- Erasmus*, see *Edwards* (G. M.).
- Foucart* (Paul) *Étude sur Didymos d'après un papyrus de Berlin*. (Extrait des *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*. Tome XXXVIII. 1^{re} Partie.) 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 9". Pp. 194. Paris, Librairie C. Klincksieck. 1907. Fr. 7.50.
- Galenus qui fertur De Qualitatibus Incorporis Libellus: dissertatio inauguralis: Ioannes Westenberg*. 8 $\frac{5}{8}$ " x 6". Pp. xxvi + 46. Marburg, Elwert. 1906.
- Geffcken* (J.) *Zwei griechische Apologeten. (Sammlung wissenschaftlicher Kommentare zu griechischen und römischen Schriftstellern.)* 10" x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. xlv + 334. Leipzig und Berlin, B. G. Teubner. 1907. M. 10.
- Hauray* (J.), see *Procopius*.
- Hentze* (Dr. C.), see *Homer*.
- Herkenrath* (Dr. Phil. E.) *Der Enoplios, ein Beitrag zur griechischen Metrik*. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. x + 186. Leipzig und Berlin, B. G. Teubner. 1906.
- Homer*. *Homers Ilias für den Schulgebrauch erklärt von Karl Friedrich Ameis*. I. 4. x-xii, von Dr. C. Hentze. 5te. ed. Pp. 126. M. 1.20. II. 1. xiii-xv, von Dr. C. Hentze. 4te. ed. Pp. 128. M. 1.20. III. 4. xii-xxiv, von Dr. C. Hentze. 4te. ed. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 152. Leipzig und Berlin, B. G. Teubner. 1906. M. 1.60.
- Huelsen* (Ch.), see *Jordan* (H.).
- Johnson* (H. H.), see *Pervigilium Veneris*.
- Jordan* (H.) *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum von H. J.* Band I. Abth. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. xxiv + 710, mit 11 Tafeln. Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung. 1907. M. 16.
- Kekule von Stradonitz* (Reinhard) *Die griechische Skulptur. (Handbücher der königlichen Museen zu Berlin.)* 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 5". Pp. iv + 384, mit 155 Abbildungen. Berlin, G. Reimer. 1906. Broschirt, M. 4.50. Geb. M. 5.
- Kirtland* (J. C. Junr.) *Fabulae Faciles: A First Latin Reader, with notes and vocabulary*. 7 $\frac{5}{8}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. xvi + 134. Longmans, Green. Cloth.
- Kromayer* (Johannes) *Antike Schlachtfelder in Griechenland. Bausteine zu einer antiken Kriegsgeschichte. Band II. Die hellenistisch-römische Periode. Von Kynoskephalae bis Pharsalos*. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. xii + 452, mit 12 Lithographischen Karten, 11 Beikarten, 2 Skizzen im Text und einer Tafel in Lichtdruck. Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung. 1907. M. 18.
- Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Tome XXXVIII. 1^{re} Partie. Extrait des*, see *Foucart* (P.).
- Modugno* (Giuseppe) *Il concetto della vita nella Filosofia greca*. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. xvi + 526. Bitonto. Prem. Casa Editrice N. Garofalo. 1907. L. 6.
- Nawijn* (W.) *De Praepositionis ΠΑΡΑ significatione atque usu apud Cassium Dionem. Campis*, apud J. H. Kok. 9" x 6". Pp. viii + 176. 1907.
- Panionion und Über die ionische Wanderung. U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff. From the Sitzungsberichte der K. pr. Ak. der Wiss.* 10" x 7". Pp. 42. 2. ed. 1906.
- Pervigilium Veneris. Latine incerti auctoris. Graece Hugonis H. Johnson, B.A. Modo non continue editum novissimam juxta recensionem J. W. Mackail, M.A., LL.D.* 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5". Pp. 8. Oxford, B. H. Blackwell. 1907.
- Philemon*. St. Paul's Epistle to, see *Williams* (A. L.).
- Postgate* (J. P.) *How to pronounce Latin. A few words to teachers and others*. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 32. London, George Bell & Sons. Cambridge, Deighton, Bell & Co. 1907. 1s.
- Procopius*. *Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia recognovit Jacobus Hauray. Volumen III. 1. Historia quae dicitur Arcana. (Bibl. Script. Graec. et Rom. Teub.)* 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. xxxii + 186. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1906. M. 3.60.
- St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, see *Williams* (A. L.).
- Way* (Arthur S.), see *Aeschylus*.
- Wenger* (Dr. Leopold) *Die Stellvertretung im Rechte der Papyri. (Festschrift der K. K. Karl-Franzens-Universität in Graz aus Anlass der Jahresfeier am 15 November.)* 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. vi + 278. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1906. M. 8.
- Williams* (A. Lukyn) *The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Colossians and to Philemon, edited by A. L. W. (Cambridge Greek Testament for Schools and Colleges. General Editor, R. St. John Parry, B.D., with introduction and notes.)* 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. lxxiv + 208. Cambridge, University Press. 1907. Cloth, 3s.

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ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

A NEW ORPHIC PAPYRUS.

A CORNER of the veil which hides the history of the Homeric Hymns from their composition till the fourteenth century is lifted by the fifth volume of the *Berliner-klassikertexte*. Herr Bücheler together with Herr Diels, from the transcript of Herr Schubart publishes from a papyrus of s. I B.C. a prose treatise containing considerable extracts from the 'Orphic poems.' These extracts are substantially identical with the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, which otherwise exists in a single fourteenth-century manuscript. The editors' work, it is needless to say, is admirably done, and Herr Bücheler, whose acquaintance with the Hymn to Demeter does not date from yesterday, contributes some general remarks.

I give first an abstract of the document, adding in parenthesis such supplements and interpretations as have occurred to me. These I mark with ? The rest are due to the editors. The work opens with an account of Orpheus, the founder of most Greek worships, especially of that of Demeter (col. i. 9 τὴν δῆμητρον θεῶν [πρῶτος ἦν ὁ μὴν ?] ὑ[σ]as ἦτ[ι ?]s [tas ?] π[ο ?]νούσας). The originator of these μυστήρια (col. ii. 1 ἡ διαδέδωκεν, sc. τὰ μυστήρια) was variously given, they really take their origin from Persephone, against her will (col. ii. 5 [οὐχὶ] ἐκού[σ]η[s]?, h. H. 19 ἀέκουσαν), in the company of the daughters of Oceanus, ὧν

ὀνόματα τα[ῦτα ἐκ τῶν] 'Ορφέως ἐπῶν. There follows h. H. 418 sq. Col. iii mentions the magic narcissus and the rape, but adds these singular details: v. 6 τὸν δὲ Δία βρονταῖς καὶ ἀ[στρο]απαῖ[s χοῖρα ?]s ἐπαξονεῖν μελαίνα[s] α]ιδ[ε]σάμενος ν[?]ομᾶ 'Αρτέμιδος τοξεί[αν], 'Αθηνᾶς [δ' ἔγχειαν or αἰχμὴν ἀντί ?] χοῖρας μιᾶς. The purpose of the black pigs is as the edd. say to propitiate Artemis and Athena; my text translates 'appeasing Artemis' archery with the drove, Athena's spear with one pig.' χοῖρας or perhaps χοῖρους seems easier than the editors' καὶ ὄς; ἐπαξονεῖν they hold means *imponere et addere axibus rotarum*. Vv. 9, 10: ὧν τ[ε]λ[ου]μένων as edd., [παρέστ ?]η βραβευτῆς Δυσ[αύλης ?]. Orph. fr. 217 Abel says that Eubuleus and Triptolemus were sons of Dysaules, μὴνύσασι δὲ σφισι περὶ τῆς παιδὸς δοθῆναι παρὰ τῆς Δήμητρος σπείραι τοὺς καρπούς. Dysaules then may, or must, have been a witness. I read his name in col. vii. 5 also. After this there are two very lacunose lines, after which v. 13 continues [ἐπειδὴ δὲ [ἦκου]σ[ε] τῆς γεγωννίας ἡ Δημήτηρ. The cry therefore is presumed, and is a vital part of any version. It removed the appearance of consent: Deuteron. xxii. Hence I read, to render the cry and its reason, v. 11 ἡ δὲ κόρη ἐ]π[ί]αχεν?, h. H. 20 ἰάχῃσιν δ' ἄρ' ὄρθια φωνῇ] ἐπὶ τῇ τύ[χη], μὴ, ἀκούοντος μηδε[?]νός, [ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ? καὶ [τῶν σ]υν[παιζ]ουσῶν καταγελασθείη.—Demeter hears, but is too late.

Col. iv we find her at the well: the queen (Baubo) and her daughters ask her business. Then follows a dark passage, both in verse and prose: *χρείας δ' ἐν[εκ]ά τινος αὐτὴν παραγεγονένα[ι] ὁ Μ[ουσα]ῖος[ς] διὰ τῶν ἐπῶν αὐτοῦ λέγων ἔστιν.* The Musaeus-quotation begins in prose: *[πᾶσ?]αν ἐν μὲν [τ]ο[ῖς] λ[ιτ]οῖς δεῖ τὴν αἰτίαν αἰτεῖ[ν] μετ' εὐεργεσίαν θ[εῶν] ὧν σέ[?]βομεν, ἐρασθέντι δ' ἐν ταινίᾳ*

*κρόκον μνάκ[α]νθον ἀκα[νθίδ?]ας εὐτεκ-
νείας
ρανν ἐπιπλεκτέον αἰ ἔσσεσ[θαί] ἔνθα πρὸς αὐτο[ῖς]
[ναρκίσσον φῦσ'] ἄ[νθ?]η [ἄφαρ? καλν]-
κώπ[ι]δι κ[ού]ρη*

and h. H. 8 sq. Musaeus' prose appears to be ritual. A distinction is made between the *λιτοί* (pure??), and the *ἐρασθείς*. The former may 'ask why' after doing service to the Gods: the Lover must tie in a ribbon three flowers as the 'price of offspring'; read *ναῖλ(α)* for *ρανν*. *Ναῖλον* does not occur metaphorically, but cf. *ἐφόδια*. *Νανν* is hopeless, else I had thought of making *εὐτεκνείας* a fourth flower, as it were *ἀριστολόχεια*. Is Musaeus another name for Orpheus?—The poet having glided back into the Homeric Hymn continues the scene of the *ἀνθολογία* apparently suggested by the ritual flowers. The narrative goes on col. v. 7 ἡ *Δημήτηρ* ἐπὶ τ[ῆς] β[αυβοῦς?] or β[ασιλίσσης?] ὡς ἡ[ρωτήθη, ἔφη . . . Demeter agrees to nurse the child (Baubo is here the *mother*, not a child), puts him in the fire, is spied on by Baubo, and expresses her wrath in lines modelled on h. H. 257: col. vi. 15

*ἄφρονε[ς] ἀνθ[ρω]ποι δυστλήμονες [οὔτε κακοῖο]
αἰση? ἐπ[ερ]χομένου προγνώμονες οὔτ' ἄ[γ]α-
[θοῖο],
[καὶ σὲ γὰρ ἀβραδί[η]ς ἡ?]μος πολὺν πείρατι
νυκτός
τη[λαυγῇ] φλόγ' ?] ἔκ[η]α [ἡδ?] ἥρπασεν ἀτηρ-
[οῖσα?]*

Demeter describes her operations upon Demophon. Lines 17–19 fill more space than is wanted for hexameters. Πολύ in 17 still requires construction.¹ In 20 we must

(if σὲ γάρ is right) supply ἀλύξαις. Ἀτηροῦσα is my manufacture from ἀτηρής.

Demeter reveals herself (col. vii. 2). Dysaulēs (if I am right; κ[ελε]οῦ εἰς edd.? δ[υσ]αυ[λ]οῦς) comes back (οἰκόνδε?) from the field, unyokes his cattle (v. 7 [βό?]ε μὲν ἀφεικότος), asks his mother Baubo τίς ἡ ξέ[νη]; he tells his mother he has seen the rape ([εἰ] πόντος τῇ μ[η]τ[ρί] ὡς ἑωρακὼς εἶη?). Demeter bids him tell her the story: ἡ δὲ *Δημήτηρ* [ἐκέλευσεν περὶ τῆς συμ?]βάσ<σ>ης εἰπεῖν [ἀρπαγῆς ἐφ' ᾧτε αὐτὸν?] κύρ[ιον] τῶν πάντων ποιῆσαι. τοῦ δὲ? λειπ[ο]μένου φωνῆς (edd.) [αὐτὴ θεωρήσονται ἐπ' ᾧ?]ει [καὶ?] τὰς μ[ε]λαίνα[ς] χοίρας? . . . καὶ τὸ σ[χ]ίσ[μα]. In the last four lines the pigs are mentioned again, and Triptolemus. Πέποται v. 18 does not suggest to me the *κυκῶν*; but in the form of *καταπέποται* or *συγκαταπέποται* (cf. *συγκαταποθείσας* in Clem. Alex. quoted by the edd.) must refer to Persephone: *ιβ. ἔως τῶν [δύο τοῦ ἔτους μερῶν?]*.

This poem, alluded to as τὰ Ὀρφείως ἐπη (col. 2. 7) and ὁ Μουσαῖος διὰ τῶν ἐπῶν αὐτοῦ (col. 4. 6) is probably rightly considered by the editors to be the same as one called by the author of the Parian Marble *Κόρης ἀρπαγὴν καὶ Δημήτρος ζήτησιν* (Abel p. 214), though it is singular that these extracts are prefaced by an allusion to the *Hymns* of Orpheus and Musaeus. However the classification of the Orphic writings does not seem very fixed, and Pausanias certainly tells us the Orphic hymns were 'very short' (ix. 30. 12), whereas the fragments of this poem embedded in the treatise and the other allusions collected by Abel fr. 209–219 make it plain it was lengthy. The most striking feature about it to us is its direct appropriation of the Homeric Hymn to Demeter. Homer, like the Colosseum and the mediaeval Abbeys to the early builder, was ever a quarry for the cook, the doctor, the scientist, the mage: imitations in the Orphica are not wanting (fr. 15, 18, 25, 45, 92, 121, 122, 123 v. 14, 124 v. 2), but few people I think were prepared for such extraordinary similarity.

Sternhold and Hopkins had great qualms
When they translated David's Psalms,

but these worthy denominationalists conveyed
the bard without a tremor. Julius Africanus

¹ Unless it can be translated 'often' or 'much' we may read *τη[ρή]σασά* ἔ κῆα, or *τη[μελέου]σά* (unepic) ἔ κῆα, with ᾗσι γὰρ ἀφραδίη in 17.

with his witches' *Odyssey* (Ox. Pap. iii. 402) is the nearest parallel. We can now understand the curious attitude of the later writers, who, profane or sacred, Diodorus, Pausanias, Clement of Alexandria, Justin, Athenagoras, Tzetzes, believe that Homer was later than Orpheus, that Homer copied him or replied to him. In fact, to judge from Pausanias' language, they thought that Homer gave a literary dress to the primitive piety of Orpheus. In this they were worse critics than Herodotus (ii. 53), but we for the first time perceive their justification. There were also many non-Homeric elements in this Orphic poem: the episode for instance which excited the Christians' horror (fr. 215),¹ the *Κορυβάντων φρουρά*, etc. The tabulation of these is rather the duty of the historian of Greek religion, who must also decide whether the original legend was filtered and chastened by the Homeric writer, or as I should prefer to suppose the grosser symbolism was an insertion into the older story.

The tradition of the Homeric Hymns is at its weakest in the Hymn to Demeter. A single late mediaeval copy contains it: a copy which as we see in the other hymns and in this where there is independent testimony (e.g. Hesiod) displays no small percentage of voces nihili and gross graphical error. Here, if anywhere, the falsity of the Byzantine transmission ought to have appeared. However, as we shall see, our new witness shows that the text of the fourteenth century A.D. and of the first B.C. is identical. The portions of the Homeric hymn reproduced in this Orphic poem are these:

(1) 8-12, col. 4. 12 sq.

9. *χωριζομένα*:—*νη* Hom. Trivial. 10. The pap. shows that the prosaic *τότε*, for which *τό γε* had been conjectured, is to be retained.

(2) 17-18, col. 5. 1. 3.

18. *ἵπποις ἀθανάτα*ισι: -οισι Hom. Either is possible.

The author omits vv. 19-32, presumably for his own purposes: unless indeed it is an

automatic omission produced by the homoeoteleuton of 18 and 32.

(3) 33-36. Here we have a more serious divergence. The papyrus runs:

ὄφρα μὲν οἶν γαῖαν τε καὶ οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα
λεῖσσε θεὰ καὶ πόντον ἀγάρροον ἰχθυόεντα
αἰγῆς τ' ἡλίου, ἔτι ἤλπετο μητέρα κεδνὴν
ὄψεσθαι καὶ φῦλα θεῶν αἰειγενετῶν.

This is complete as it stands. Homer however is longer and from v. 35 reads:

ἔτι δ' ἤλπετο μητέρα κεδνὴν
ὄψεσθαι καὶ φῦλα θεῶν αἰειγενετῶν,
τόφρα οἱ ἑλπίς ἔβελγε μέγαν νόον ἀχνυμένης περ
ἤχησαν δ' ὀρέων κορυφαὶ καὶ βένθεα πόντου
φωνῇ ὑπ' ἀθανάτῃ: τῆς δ' ἔκλυε πότνια μήτηρ.

The Orphic writer, not requiring the episode of the shriek (which he had given in prose earlier, in col. 3. 11, if I am right), curtailed the passage by making the apodosis at *ἔτι*. His lights enabled him to tolerate hiatus. The editors seem wrong in saying 'richtig fehlt dieser Vers (37) in P.' The difficulty which led Hermann to find a lacuna after 37 remains.

(4) The daughters' names: col. 4. 2 *Καλλιόπης καὶ Κλεισιδίκης καὶ Δαμ[ω]ν[ας]σης*. Homer (109) has *Καλλιδίκη καὶ Κλεισιδίκη, Δημό τ' ἐρώεσσα | Καλλιθόη θ'*. Pamphos gave entirely different names. Homer and Orpheus agree fairly closely, if Demo may be considered a Kosename of Demonassa.

(5) 248, 249, col. 6. 12. The pap. has *ξείνῃ σε πυρὴ ἐνὶ πολλῇ*, as the edd. rightly infer. They think this is better than Homer's *πυρὶ ἐνὶ πολλῷ*. But the metre of *πυρὶ ἐνὶ* is defended by 99 and 101 in the hymn; and *πυρά* = *πῆρ* seems only found in Herod. ii. 39, whence Bekker on this ground removed it.

(6) 256-262, col. 6. 15 (above).

Orpheus here goes further apart from Homer. No one will wish to accept the epithets *ἄφρονες* and *δυστλήμονες*, nor the transposition of *ἀγαθοῖο* and *κακοῖο*. There is more to be said for *προγνώμονες*, which coincides with the Mosquensis' *προγνώμενοι*. This is usually altered into *προγνώμεναι* the verb, which then governs *αἶσαν*. *Προγνώμων* does not exist, but is as good I suppose as *ἀγνώμων*, *εὐγνώμων*. If accepted it would

¹ Where v. 5 for *ῥήπτασκε* perh. read *ῥέζασκε*, in the sense of *καταρέζειν* (contractat Arnobius). Some sort of *αἰσχροπυργία* is evidently intended. Cf. the North-Egypt Baubo-figures, *J.H.S.* xxv. 128.

involve αἴση for αἴσαν. I have endeavoured to fill Orpheus' lacunae above: Bücheler thinks that ἀβραδ[ίης and δημοβόων v. 12 are 'Macedonian': not unless the hymn to Apollo is Macedonian too (βοῖβος 375 in M): though not as common as β = υ, β = φ is a trivial error.

(7) 268, col. 2. 7. Demeter's declaration in Orpheus is a mixture of 268 and 55 sq. with necessary re-arrangements.

(8) 418 sq., col. 2. 7: the list of the Oceanides. The pap. gives the names correctly, as Hesiod, and avoids the corruption of the Mosquensis. It omits 419, as Pausanias: both in Pausanias and the pap. the omission is due to *homoeomeson*, ἰάχη τε,

τύχη τε. The pap. also omits v. 424 Παλλὰς τ' ἐγρεμάχη καὶ Ἄρτεμις ἰοχέαιρα. In the Orphic version they were goddesses (col. 3.7).

The fourteenth century tradition is unimpugned. I only wish there had been more of the document, and that it had not, *insita papyrorum improbitate*, avoided the difficult places of the Hymn.

One or two of Bücheler's general conclusions are perhaps unfounded: the last line of the papyrus will hardly supply κάθοδος κόρης as a title (p. 16), and why should the home of the treatise—as of the papyrus be Egyptian (p. 17)? Why, lastly, will the professor still talk of ὁμήρου ὕμνοι εἰς τὴν δῆμητρα and never forgive the rubricator his colon?

T. W. ALLEN.

THE SATURNIAN METRE.¹

SLIGHT as is the direct importance of the Saturnian metre in connexion with Latin literature, it is very considerable in its bearing on the general question of the development of the art of verse, because here alone in Latin we observe a spontaneous Italian development, in contrast to the overwhelming influence of the direct imitation of Greek in other departments of Latin poetry. It is true that this contrast may easily be exaggerated. Granted that the Saturnian is an Italian metre, it may nevertheless have much in common with the Plautine metres, which at least found appreciation amongst the commons of Rome; and on the other hand, in spite of the direct imitation of Greek metres by Ennius, Virgil, and Horace, the genius of the Latin language is indelibly stamped on their verse compositions. For a real appreciation of any of these metres two qualities are especially needed: a broad knowledge of the possibilities of metre in the pre-Christian era, and a capacity for estimating fairly the value of different kinds of evidence. In both these points the well-known Plautine scholar, Prof.

Friedrich Leo, appears to be well equipped for the task he has undertaken; but an English reader might fairly wish that his arrangement of his material was more orderly and his style more perspicuous. If however something is lacking in these directions, we may still be grateful for the fulness of matter which is concentrated in his treatise.

The expositors of the Saturnian verse are roughly divided into two classes, those who accept quantity as its basis and those who interpret it by accent. Leo adheres firmly to the older view that the metre is quantitative, and essentially of the same character as the Plautine metres. We may however well ask for more precise definitions of the principles of the old Latin metres. So far as these admit long and short syllables indifferently in the syllables without ictus (as is more often than not the case both in the Plautine metres and in the Saturnian) the metres are not quantitative but syllabic: so far as two short syllables are reckoned the equivalent of one long syllable they are strictly quantitative. A truer description of the Saturnian seems to be given by Frederic Allen (Kuhn's *Zeitschrift* xxiv., p. 583), when he uses the term 'half-quantitative.'

¹ *Der Saturnische Vers*. Von FRIEDRICH LEO. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1905. 410. Pp. iv + 79. Price M. 5.50.

Even so no hint is given of the feature of this verse which consists in the complete suppression of syllables in arsis. If therefore we continue to describe this metre as 'quantitative,' we can only mean by it that the element of quantity is not to be ignored.

1 —	2 —	3 —	4 —		5 —	6 —	7 —	8 —
<i>malím</i>	<i>dabúnt</i>	<i>Metél-</i>	<i>lí</i>		<i>Naévió</i>	<i>poé-</i>	<i>taé</i>	

with the qualification that the syllables of the fourth and eighth feet, though originally having ictus, had for practical purposes become syllables in arsis.

This is substantially the view of Leo also, and it corresponds with the form of the Saturnian accepted by Caesius Bassus as typical. This is of the more importance, in Leo's view, because Bassus probably follows Varro in this point, and because this form is actually predominant in all the Scipio inscriptions except the first. The strong interest of the Scipionic family in the beginnings of Latin literature will reasonably account for a special choiceness in the metrical form of these inscriptions.

This form however is only referred to by the Latin grammarians as one out of several types of the Saturnian; and of some 180 Saturnian verses which we possess less than half can be directly accommodated to it. A thorough treatment of the question therefore involves two points: (i) a precise determination of the dominant form; (ii) a general explanation of the other possible forms of the Saturnian, and of their relation to the dominant form. Our author examines every recorded Saturnian in order to solve these problems.

In the dominant form he considers (p. 34) the following to be the characteristic features: (a) caesura after each second foot, dividing the verse into four approximately equal parts; (b) at the caesura, hiatus and *syllaba anceps* are permissible; (c) in the third and seventh feet the syllables without ictus may be suppressed; (d) in the sixth foot the syllable without ictus must be short; (e) a long syllable in any position may be replaced by two short syllables.

The variant forms are created by (a)

In the important article of F. Allen to which we have already referred the Saturnian verse is explained as arising from the combination of two iambic tetrapodies, with suppression of the fourth, fifth, and eighth arses: the type is therefore

suppression of the syllable without ictus in the first, second, or sixth foot; (b) shifting of the ictus in the first foot, giving a choriambus (— ∪ ∪ —) as the first section of the verse; (c) disregard of the third caesura, and further changes dependent upon this.

To exhibit in a scheme all the possible forms which may result from these licenses would be illusory: the number of possible forms would far exceed the number of existing Saturnian verses, and almost any prose sentence of the required general length would find a place somewhere within the scheme. It is therefore clearly necessary to distinguish between those liberties that may be freely used and those that are exceptional.

We shall now take the various points in order, and examining the Saturnian verses accepted by Leo, consider how far his theory is consistent and convincing.

The whole number of verses examined is about 185, but of these many are defective. All authorities agree as to the caesura in the middle of the verse, to which we find only two or three exceptions. Of the first half of the verse we have about 167 examples, of which only from 10 to 15 are without caesura; of the last half 156 examples, of which 19 are without caesura, in addition to 13 which disagree altogether with the scheme. It seems therefore clear that the triple pause is an essential feature of the Saturnian, although (as Leo notes) the pause is not so well established in the middle of the second half-verse as elsewhere.

Hiatus is a feature dependent upon the caesura: it is necessary to postulate it at the three points 15, 21, and 4 times respectively. These figures establish hiatus as a

permissible variation at the first two caesuras ; but the small number of instances at the third caesura tends to increase the doubt as to the importance of this pause.

The phrase *syllaba anceps* needs closer definition. As used of the final syllable in every variety of Latin verse it means that short and long syllables are used indifferently (that is, equally), in this position. But as used in connexion with the caesura it means that a short syllable may be used occasionally in place of a long syllable immediately before the pause. This feature occurs in the Saturnian 21, 27, and 26 times respectively in the three positions. We should expect a smaller number of examples in the third position, to correspond with the comparative weakness of the caesura there ; but otherwise these figures seem to confirm strongly the theory of the triple caesura. As the *syllaba anceps* in this sense is also found both in Plautus and in Virgil, this interpretation of the short syllables in the Saturnian seems not only sound

in itself, but also a substantial confirmation of Leo's view that the metrical principles of the Saturnian are to be traced also in other forms of Latin verse.

We next come to the suppression of the syllables in arsis in the third and seventh feet, by which the second and fourth sections of the verse are reduced to spondees. This suppression takes place 13 times in the third foot, and 25 times in the seventh. It would seem that the suppression in the third foot ought to be admitted as exceptional only.

Leo differs from his predecessors in asserting that a short syllable is required in the first place of the sixth foot. The examples of a long syllable (or two short syllables) appear to be six in number, and it seems therefore justifiable to state that the long syllable is exceptional.

Although it is commonly held that any long syllable may be represented by two short syllables, this is not altogether borne out by the instances, which are as follows :

Type	$\simeq$	$-$	$ $	$\simeq$	$-$	$ $	$\simeq$	$-$	$ $	$\simeq$	$-$	$ $	$\simeq$	$-$	$ $	$-$
Resolutions	12	6		2	3	13	6		2				11	5		

Type		$-$	$ $	$-$	$ $					$-$	$ $	$-$
Resolutions					2						5	

It appears that resolution is only regularly found in the opening syllable of the first, second, and fourth sections ; and (much less frequently) in the second syllables of these sections. In the second and fourth sections it is relatively much more common in the second place in the instances in which the first syllable is suppressed. These facts seem to throw a clear light on the true nature of the 'resolution' in the Saturnian. It is not the quantitative equivalent of a long syllable, but the license of the initial syllable of the section, when it is without ictus : in other positions it is exceptional only.

The last point we have to consider is negative, namely the quantity of the syllable without ictus in the first, second, third, and seventh feet, so far as they follow the regular type. Here the vowel is short 35, 51, 38, 56, and long 61, 55, 59, 48 times respectively.

There are therefore signs of a preference for the long syllable in the first and third feet.

So far we have considered only those instances of each section which conform to the dominant type : we now pass to the variant types. In passing we must notice that although the verses that wholly conform to the dominant type are less than half of the whole, yet if we examine the sections separately the proportion is much larger and on the average exceeds two-thirds. It appears most profitable now to examine those variant sections only for which the remaining section of the half verse conforms to the type, for here we have at least made some progress in analysing the verse, and may be relatively confident that we have part of a genuine Saturnian before us.

First section. There are 30 variants attached to a second section of normal form. Of these one only (*terra pestem*) is syllabically

equivalent to the regular form, but trochaic in character: this we can afford to disregard. All the remainder can be explained by the suppression of the first or second arsis, apparently with about equal frequency. The chief difficulty is caused by the form $\text{—} \cup \cup \text{—}$, which occurs nine times. Leo explains this as a shifting of the ictus, *i.e.* as a combination of trochee and iambus (the last syllable being *anceps*). It can also be explained by suppression of the first arsis and resolution of the second; but our previous investigation shows that resolution of the second arsis can hardly be expected so frequently, and therefore goes to confirm Leo's view.

Second section. In 13 instances the first section is normal, the second variant. Of these 7 are included in the formula $\text{—} \text{—} \cup \text{—}$, showing a restoration of the third arsis: it is remarkable that in all these instances the fourth arsis is a short syllable. There are five instances of the type $\text{—} \cup \text{—}$, corresponding to the third section. One example (*marum*) is of the type $\cup \text{—}$, but this may be disregarded. The variants as a whole seem more easily explained as instances of contamination by the neighbouring sections than by reference to an assumed primitive type $\text{—} \text{—} \text{—}$.

There are 25 instances in which both the first and second sections are abnormal. This is too large a proportion to be accounted for by independent variations in the two parts.

Third section. There are 39 variants in half verses otherwise regular. Of these 14 are of the type $\text{—} \cup \text{—} \text{—} \text{—}$ corresponding to the first section, except that in only one

instance the third syllable is long. 13 are of the type $\text{—} \text{—} \text{—}$, corresponding to the fourth section. 20 are of the type $\text{—} \cup \text{—}$, explained by Leo as due to the suppression of both arses. This form is therefore more common than in the second section, though less so than in the fourth: if it be reckoned as a regular variation in this section, the number of variants is much the same as in the first and second.

Fourth section. There are only two examples, [*ilico*] *sedent*, [*strenui*] *virī*. These are both of the type $\cup \text{—}$, but are inadequate to establish it as a variant.

In the second half-verse there are in addition 12 instances without caesura, but otherwise regular; and 14 instances which are altogether abnormal. The proportion is the same as in the first part.

We have now to sum up the results. It has to be admitted that some 40 half-verses, one-ninth of the whole number, remain unexplained. For the rest we can on the whole accept Leo's explanation of the facts, and especially his theories of the triple caesura, the *syllaba anceps*, and the short syllable in the first arsis of the second half-verse. We consider that the possibility of resolution must generally be restricted to the first syllable of the first, second, and fourth sections, though it occasionally finds its way into the second; and that the type $\text{—} \text{—}$ must be recognised as regular in the third and fourth sections rather than in the second and fourth.

According to this view the scheme of the typical Saturnian is as follows:



With regard to the theory that the whole verse is derived from the four-fold double iambus, it appears to be unproven. It seems more probable that the dominant form is the only one present to the minds of the writers, and that the variations are due to contamination.

With these reservations we consider that a true theory of the Saturnian verse is expounded in this treatise. Those who hold that the verse is 'accentual' (in the sense that the quantity of syllables is indifferent) must feel themselves now called upon to defend their view with similar fulness of

detail. We will invite their answer to a single point. According to this theory two such words as *Naēviō* and *pōpulō* should be equally acceptable in the third section. The actual occurrences are: of the type *Naēviō*

58; of the type *pōpulō* 3. These figures may also be commended to any readers who are tempted to draw the conclusion that anything is possible in a Saturnian verse.

E. V. ARNOLD.

HORACE *CARM.* IV. 11.

Telephum, quem tu petis, occupavit,
Non tuae sortis iuuenem, puella
Diues et lasciuia, tenetque grata
Compede uinctum.

This is in its opening notes one of the most intimate and personal of the Odes of Horace. It is an invitation to some Phyllis to share with him a domestic feast to be given in honour of the birthday of Maecenas on the Ides of April. After describing the busy preparations, Horace begs Phyllis to relinquish any hope of winning the love of one Telephus, at whom she is setting her cap, and to bestow her affections and her company on himself instead.

Who was Telephus? Is he merely the conventional Greek lover? If so, his intrusion into so personal an ode strikes one as something of a false note, sadly maiming the compliment to Maecenas. And he is certainly described in terms as far as well may be from the conventional. Horace at this time, as he has been at great pains to tell us, has reached a high position in Rome, the Queen of cities: he not only has the reflected glory of intimate association with the great men of the empire, but on his own merits as a poet has at length attained a fame which has almost blunted the fangs of envy. And yet to accept his company in place of that of Telephus is, it appears, no less than a descent from heaven to earth. To aspire to the affection of Telephus is not merely hopeless, it is impious, *nefas*: it can be compared only to the legendary audacities of the presumptuous mortals who have dared to scale the heavens and met with punishment condign and swift. The enforcement of this moral forms the kernel of the ode, and is clearly meant to contain its real significance.

Was there, at the time of the publication

of this Fourth Book, more than one person, real or imaginary, in Rome or in all the world, of whom Horace could in common decency, without a deliberate intention to insult Augustus, have spoken in these terms? Could he have applied them at all to a mere convention? And is it a mere accident that as Licymnia in C. ii. 12 is homometric with Terentia, so Telephus is homometric with—Caesarem?

If we had actually found *Caesarem* instead of *Telephum* in our texts, we should without doubt have regarded the ode as entirely of a piece with the rest of the book in the tone of its compliments to the Prince. No objection would, I think, have been taken to the notoriously elastic 'iuuenem.' Augustus was just fifty when the book was published: how much younger he may have been when the poem was composed it is needless to ask, for years can have made but little difference in the age of one who had long been quaffing his nectar among the gods.

Some surprise might have been felt however at the natural, indeed almost inevitable conclusion that the 'puella diues et lasciuia' is Livia. But the words convey no more than this, that, as diues, she is a lady of high position, no mere geisha like Phyllis, and that like her deified spouse she has retained intact all the charm of youth. Still, on the supposition that the text had *Caesarem*, there would have been a very justifiable question as to the taste of the whole composition. But when once Telephus was introduced to draw a semi-transparent veil over the identity of the happy couple, the situation was changed. Horace himself supplies us, in C. ii. 12, with the standard of taste on such matters current in the highest society of his time. If Maecenas

was gratified, as we must suppose him to have been, by the extremely warm description of Terentia's caresses in that remarkable ode, there can have been no reason why Augustus should frown at the more conventional and veiled civilities to the empress here. It was a clear, and doubtless true,

compliment to Augustus to intimate that the young ladies of Rome were sighing for him: it was equally a compliment, though perhaps less veracious, to tell Livia that her charms were still so fresh as to render all such aspirations hopeless.

WALTER LEAF.

THREE NOTES.

(1) *Rutupinus*. Roman Kent possessed three ports suitable for cross-channel traffic, Richborough, Dover, and Lymne. Of these Richborough (*Rutupiae*) was far the most important. Its site, now two miles from the sea, lay then on the shores of a lagoon or land-locked estuary providing a suitable harbour, and the surviving remains—especially the coins, pottery, and the like—and the statements of Orosius and Ammian show that it was the usual point of landing and departure for continental passengers or merchandise long before the building of the great fourth-century fort. As a result, the adjective *Rutupinus* seems to be used in the Latin poets rather with a typical than a specific meaning. Juvenal iv. 141 *Rutupino edita fundo Ostrea* may no doubt be taken (as it usually is) to signify that Roman Richborough possessed oyster-beds, and there would doubtless have been room for oysters in its lagoon. But, as everyone knows, the chief oyster-beds of modern England are on the north coast of Kent off Whitstable, and on the other side of the Thames estuary near Colchester. It would be simpler to think that *Rutupino* meant 'British.' Again in Lucan vi. 67:

aut vaga cum Tethys Rutupinaque litora
fervent,
unda Caledonios fallit turbata Britannos,

there is plainly no reference to a land-locked harbour, but a general contrast between (as we should now say) England and Scotland. So, too, beyond question in the other three passages in which the adjective seems to occur in poetry, in Ausonius, *tellus Rutupina* means Britain (Parent. ix. 2), *Rutupinus ager*

the British provinces (*ibid.* xx. 8), and *Rutupinum latronem* the usurper Maximus (*Ord. urb. nobil.* 71). In short, the familiar name of the landing-place has been taken to denote the island in a more general sense, just as 'the white cliffs of Dover' might be used to denote England.

(2) Claudian *de bello Pollentino* 416, *venit et extremis legio praetenta Britannis*. The reference is to a withdrawal of troops from Britain by Stilicho about A.D. 402, when other troops (*manus*) were withdrawn from Raetia and others (*agmina*) from the Rhine. Historians have disputed what legion was thus withdrawn and have even deduced data for the chronology of the latter days of Roman Britain. But it does not seem clear that *legio* necessarily means a legion. As used by Claudian, the word often denotes—as in early Latin and in Vergil—a levy or army of any sort. This might be the case even in the *de bello Gildonico* i. 422, where after mentioning a *Herculea* and a *Iovia cohors*, the poet proceeds:

Neruius insequitur meritisque vocabula
Felix
Dictaque ab Augusto legio, nomenque
probant
Invicti, clipeoque animosi teste Leones.

Nervius, Felix, Invicti, Leones, are all recognizable as auxiliary regiments, classed among the 'auxilia Palatina' in the Notitia, and as these auxilia included 'Augustei' (*Occid.* v. 183), *legio* may refer to them. On the other hand, the 'cohorts' *Herculea* and *Iovia* may be legions. As Gibbon observes, the change in discipline allowed the poet

to use the terms '*legio, cohors*' and the like, quite indifferently: to which we may add that the precedents of Latin poetry made easy the employment of *legio* in its vaguer sense.

(3) Patrick in his 'Letter against Coroticus, calls his father Calpurnius a decurion (*decorione patre nascor*). The title would naturally imply membership of a municipal senate. But there is difficulty in finding such a senate near any of the places where it has

been suggested that Patrick's family had an estate (*villula*) and he himself was kidnapped. Possibly the decurion in this case was not a town-councillor but member of a cantonal senate. That such cantonal authorities helped to carry on the local government of Britain is now, I think, certain, though little else is known about them. Their existence should at least be considered among the possibilities of Patrick's conjectural life.

F. HAVERFIELD.

PLATO, *REPUBLIC* 442 B AND A CONJECTURAL EMENDATION OF
NIC. ETH. VII. IV. 5, 1148^a 23.

PROFESSOR BYWATER has drawn my attention to the fact that in the Clarendon Press Edition of Plato's *Republic*, in 442 B, 2 μῆ... ἄρχειν ἐπιχειρήσῃ ὧν οὐ προσήκον αὐτῷ γένει the conjecture αὐτοῦ γένει is recorded in the apparatus criticus.

I am fortunate in finding that he takes the passage as I always have done, making γένει equivalent to φύσει, and used adverbially. He quotes Sophocles *O.C.* 738 οὐνέχ' ἡκέ μοι γένει | τῷ τοῦδε πενθεῖν πῆματ', noting the double dative here also, and the Scholium ἀντὶ τοῦ ὅτι προσήκει μοι πενθεῖν κ.τ.λ.

He also compares *Republic* 474 C τοῖς μὲν

προσῆκει φύσει ἄπτεσθαί τε φιλοσοφίας ἡγεμονεύειν τε ἐν πόλει, where the parallel to the present passage is an important confirmation of his view. The passage I had been accustomed to quote is *Nic. Eth.* 1148^a 22-23, ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ τῶν ἡδονῶν αἱ μὲν εἰσι τῷ γένει καλῶν καὶ σπουδαίων (τῶν γὰρ ἡδέων ἔνια φύσει αἰρετά, κ.τ.λ.) which is valuable because in it the words γένει and φύσει are clearly used in analogous senses. Rassow emends in the passage from the *Ethics* <τῶν> τῷ γένει καλῶν. I would suggest simply altering τῷ to τῶν—τῶν γένει ἡδέων.

J. COOK WILSON.

AESCH. *AGAM.* 314.

νικᾷ δ' ὁ πρῶτος καὶ τελευταῖος δραμών.

THE difficulty of this line is only too well known, and various interpretations have been proposed; among these, that which best accords with the Greek is 'And the first wins, even though he runs last.' Does not this supply the true sense? 'Clytaemnestra,' says Mr. Sidgwick, 'compares the series of beacons to the torch race or λαμπαδηφορία at Athens. What this was is not quite clear, but apparently there was a number or chain of runners engaged, each of

whom carried a torch a certain distance and then handed it on to the next.' Very well: then from Clytaemnestra's point of view at Mycenae, clearly the beacon on Ida is τελευταῖος in the series,—the hindmost runner of all. But in another sense it is also πρῶτος,—the first lighted, and therefore the first mentioned in her speech. And this beacon νικᾷ, prevails, that is, is the most important: from the first line of the queen's speech, where she answers the chorus' question 'What messenger could come so swiftly?' by "Ἡφαιστος" Ἰδης λαμπρὸν ἐκπέμπων σέλας,

to line 311 where the beacon light is called οὐκ ἄπαππον Ἰδαίου πνρός,—throughout, the keynote of the whole description is, that the news comes from Ida. In the tale of the beacons the Idaean holds the preeminence, τὸν ἅπαντα νικᾷ λόγον: and while it is in

one sense the first, but locally from the speaker's point of view the last, there is full justification for the verbal conceit of a race where the winner is one who is last.

A. D. GODLEY.

NOTES

AMARACUS.

LIDDELL AND SCOTT have s.v. σάμψυχον 'foreign name of amaracus or marjoram,' s.v. ἀμάρακον they have 'The Greek species was probably a bulbous plant: the foreign answers to our marjoram, strictly σάμψυχον.' Like many other statements regarding natural history in our great national Greek Lexikon, these are unsatisfactory. The facts are that σάμψυχον is the modern Greek name of marjoram, and μαράκος is the modern Greek

name of *Chrysanthemum Frutescens*. I owe my knowledge of the identity of μαράκος and *Chrysanthemum Frutescens* (Étoile d'or) to the kindness of the editor of *Gardening Illustrated*, who replied to my query on the subject. The plant is very common in Asia Minor, and the tender stalks boiled are excellent.

W. R. PATON.

Calymnos.

NEWS AND COMMENTS

THE editors who crowd the pages of critical texts of Latin poets with irrelevant *testimonia* may learn much from a 'Festschrift' just published by Professor Hosius (Greifswald, F. W. Kunike) and entitled 'De Imitatione Scriptorum Romanorum imprimis Lucani.' The learned Latinist shows by argument and copious illustration the limits within which it is safe to assert or to deny the imitation of one writer by another. Coincidences may be purely fortuitous, as where the same thought or expression has occurred to two writers independently: his first example is Bismarck's phrase *Wir Deutsche fürchten Gott aber sonst nichts in der Welt*, which is not borrowed 'ab Arndtii versu' (Lieder für Teutsche 1813) *Sie* (sc. *die alten Teutsche*) *fürchteten Gott und nichts weiter*, but Bismarck 'ex ingenio hausit quod rei tempore accommodatum putabat.' They may

also be purely metrical: verse-tags like *Bellona flagello, nubila caeli*, etc. at the end or *di melius, felix qui potuit* etc. at the beginning of a verse. Again apparent imitation may really be due to community of source. Thus Lucan, 1. 246, is less likely to have been borrowing from Ovid *Met.* 7. 115 and 3.40 than both authors from Virgil *Aen.* 7. 446. At the end of the pamphlet, Dr. Hosius prints the first 182 lines of Lucan with an impressive assemblage of parallels.

Most of our readers, we hope, will have already acquainted themselves with the contents of the first number of the sister periodical—the *Classical Quarterly*; but for the benefit of those who have not, we give a brief account of it. There are ten original articles of varying length, the longest being the first instalment of a paper by Mr.

Housman in which Lucilius and his last editor (F. Marx) are handled with the writer's usual vigour. Mr. A. W. Hodgman begins a series of studies of Verb Forms in Plautus, which will be as indispensable to Plautine students as his previous contributions on Plautine Grammar to the *Classical Review*. Dr. A. N. Jannaris throws new light on the use of the Digamma the Koppa and the Sampi as numerals in Greek, and Mr. H. D. Naylor on the lengthening of short vowels before a mute and a liquid in Greek tragedy. Mr. H. Richards contributes some emendations of certain of the Greek comic fragments and of a papyrus fragment of sayings attributed to Simonides. Mr. E. W. Fay writes on the etymology of a number of Greek and Latin words, Mr. H. I. Bell publishes a fragment of the astronomer poet Aratus from a Br. Mus. papyrus, and Mr. Winstedt discusses the meaning of the Mavortian subscription in the old Putean MS. of Prudentius. The last article consists of notes by the Editor on the eighth book of Lucan. There are two reviews: of Mr. Garrod's *Thebaid and Achilleid of Statius* by Mr.

Souter and of Renkema's *Studies on Valerius Flaccus*. The Summaries of Periodicals, a feature which the *Quarterly* has taken over from the *Classical Review*, occupy eight pages of small type and include archaeological and numismatic as well as 'general' summaries.

A Memorial Volume is being prepared by professors of Columbia University, to contain the scattered papers and unpublished notes of the late Mortimer Lamson Earle, with a biographical sketch. Mrs. Earle (462 West Twenty-Second Street, New York City) would be grateful, if scholars or other friends who may have preserved letters from Mr. Earle would lend them to her for use in the book. The letters will be carefully kept and returned to the owners.

Thucydides Mythistoricus is an arresting title; and by style and contents Mr. F. M. Cornford's remarkable study on the great historian is certain to interest a wide circle of readers. If his conclusions are accepted, current notions of the credibility of ancient history will be considerably modified.

REVIEWS

ERASMUS.

Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami denuo recognitum et auctum per P. S. ALLEN, M.A., e Coll. Corporis Christi. Tom. I. 1484-1514. 9½" × 5¾". Pp. xxiv + 616. Oxonii in Typographeo Clarendoniano. MCMVI. 18s. net.

THE recent increase of interest in the life and works of Erasmus shows no sign of abatement. Quite apart from the continent, where much striking work has been done or begun, English and American study of the Dutch humanist is attested by the publication, within the last few years, of such books as Woodward's *Erasmus concerning Education* and the same author's *Education during the Renaissance*, Emerton's *Desiderius*

Erasmus, and Nichols' *Epistles of Erasmus*. And now we have the first instalment of a new and elaborate edition of the correspondence of Erasmus in the original text: an edition which, if continued on its present scale, will extend to five or six volumes.

The first volume of Mr. Allen's work covers the thirty years from 1484 to 1514, and contains some 300 letters. A large number of these are not found in the Leyden edition of two centuries ago; and a few are now published for the first time. Not the least difficult part of the present editor's task has been the arrangement of the letters in a truer chronological order than that of Leclerc. The attempt is as important as it is difficult. No satisfactory life

of Erasmus himself, and no adequate history of the times in which he lived, can be written without constant reference to the letters and to the date of each. Mr. Allen has shown great care, resource, and judgment in handling chronological problems which are especially perplexing during the earlier period of Erasmus' life, when it was not his practice to give any year-date. In the absence of external proof, Mr. Allen's wide and various knowledge enables him to turn to good account the slightest internal evidence or presumption. An excellent example of his ingenuity in dating will be found on p. 181, and another on p. 583.

No less care has been shown in editing and elucidating the text. Facsimiles are given of the Gouda MS. and the Deventer Letter-book. All previous editions have been carefully collated. Many excellent emendations have been introduced into the text by the editor himself. The quotations and other literary references occurring in the letters are traced to their original sources — often no easy task. Brief explanatory footnotes, on all manner of topics, are given. The biographical matter is particularly full and helpful, whether it concerns Erasmus himself or the numerous persons to whom, or about whom, he writes. An interesting example of minute and useful erudition is the note (p. 92) on Cornelius Gerard. Much light is thrown throughout (in a series of valuable appendices, as well as in the introductions and notes to separate letters) on various incidents in Erasmus' own life. Nor does his editor show any tendency to exalt him unduly. Indeed, it may be doubted whether both Mr. Nichols and Mr. Allen do not sometimes press points rather hard against him.

Occasionally—very occasionally—a doubtful reading is found in the text. But the point at issue is usually some trifle of punctuation or spelling in which the editor may deliberately prefer to adhere firmly to his authorities: as on p. 37 l. 18, p. 75 l. 25, p. 400 l. 92, p. 521 l. 25. Where information fails him, Mr. Allen invites attention to the fact. Early in his volume he prints a 'list of manuscripts about which information is desired.' On p. 174 he points out that the

identity of the Thomas Grey to whom Erasmus writes in 1497 has not been determined. It is to be hoped that publicity will lead to the elucidation of this and other doubtful points. Perhaps the statement (repeated by Mr. Allen) that Colet, when some fifty years of age, was 'ignorant of Greek,' is too absolute, though it may seem to receive some confirmation from words used by More and even by Colet himself. Sixteen or seventeen years earlier, Erasmus assumes (as Mr. Allen is aware) some knowledge of Greek on Colet's part; and it would hardly be safe to regard the assumption as flattery pure and simple. The origin and orthography of the name *Erasmus* are carefully discussed in this edition, and attention might perhaps have been drawn to the quantity of the first syllable as given in an epigram of Badius ('multa quoque Erasmo debebitur ingenioso,' p. 406).

Mr. Allen understands the pleasant art of tempering criticism with courtesy. When he dissents from the view of a predecessor, he does so in a gentle and urbane way. On p. 449 Erasmus begins a letter to Aldus with the words: 'Male precor bellis istis, per quos non licet nobis ea Italiae parte frui quae mihi in dies magis ac magis aridet.' Mr. Allen's note here is 'bellis] In spite of *quos*, M. de Nolhac refers this to the wars imminent from the schemes for the spoliation of Venice, which were cemented by the League of Cambrai, 10 Dec. 1508. It is easier to understand it of the *belli homunculi* responsible for bringing on the wars.' Mr. Allen's own work is remarkably free from such accidental blemishes. When completed (with full indices) it will be a notable achievement, bringing much credit to the University and the Press from which it emanates. As a critical instrument, it is altogether superior to Leclerc's edition of the Letters, good though that was in its day; and a wide circulation should await it. It is interesting to learn that the undertaking owes much to encouragement given by Mr. J. A. Froude at the time when he was lecturing at Oxford on Erasmus, and that it has occupied the editor's leisure for the last thirteen years, having been 'carried on under the gloom of Indian summers and in high

valleys in Kashmir.' The work has clearly been a long labour of love; and all scholars will hope that nothing may occur to retard its completion.

It may not be out of place to add a few general remarks on Erasmus and his educational views, together with some illustrative passages contained in Mr. Allen's volume or elsewhere.

An admirer of Erasmus can well afford to admit the many and obvious limitations alleged against him. Did not Coleridge, for instance, say that it would be vain to expect anything deep from him? Certainly the scholar was not a philosopher in any sense that would be likely to satisfy his critic. And the feeling of the artist and the historian is often wanting in his writings just where it might most naturally be found. The grandeur of the Alps, the beauty of Florence, the remains of ancient Rome: about these he says little, or nothing, when describing his visit to Italy. It may also be doubted whether, in poetry, the sublimity of an Aeschylus would appeal greatly to him. He was himself a versifier, but no poet; his perception of beauty was keen in some directions, defective in others. Nor, again, was he a great theological disputant. The Lutheran movement brought him into the arena, but unwillingly. It was his boast that 'usque ad annum quinquagesimum nec impetiverat quenquam, nec impetitus est a quoquam stylo.' When at length forced into the conflict, he did not shine in it. His heart was in the Revival of Letters to which (as he so repeatedly says in his Epistles) he feared that the new movement would run counter; and it is only fair that he should be judged by the chief work of his life, even though he may have placed too much faith in the gradual diffusion of knowledge and may have failed to see that there are some abuses which it is almost impossible to educate, or to laugh, out of existence.

If to these limitations on the side of philosophy, history, art, and theological controversy, be added the fact that even the Greek scholarship of Erasmus has not escaped disparagement (especially in comparison with that of his contemporary Budé), it might well seem that little remains. But, after all,

there still remains the man himself (attractive in his weakness as well as in his strength),—the typical man of letters, the unsurpassed humanist, the unwearied student and scholar.

The documents in Mr. Allen's first volume which throw most light on Erasmus, the man and the humanist, are perhaps the following. The well-known letter to prior Servatius (Allen, I. pp. 564-573: date, 1514 A.D.: authenticity, doubted but with insufficient reason) was rightly described, in a copy printed shortly after Erasmus' death, as 'rationem fere totius vitae eius continens.' It is a really self-revealing statement,—a fine and frank *Apologia*. It vindicates his choice of the free life of the wandering scholar in preference to the isolation of the monastery: 'quanto magis est e Christi sententia totum orbem Christianum unam domum et velut unum habere monasterium, omnes concanonicos et confratres putare.' A still longer, and even more important, letter is the literary autobiography which Erasmus addressed to John Botzheim in 1523. This is conveniently placed, its late date notwithstanding, at the beginning (pp. 1-46) of Mr. Allen's edition. It is a striking record of a scholar's activities, or (as Erasmus himself modestly calls it) a 'catalogus omnium nugarum mearum verius quam librorum.' Immediately after his letter to Botzheim Mr. Allen (pp. 47-52) prints the 'Compendium Vitae' which (if authentic, as there is no cogent reason to doubt it is) accompanied an Epistle to Goclen in 1524. Here Erasmus' career and character are briefly sketched. The third person is for the most part used, as for instance in the words: 'putidulus erat, neque quidquam unquam scripsit quod ipsi placeret; ac ne facie quidem propria delectabatur, vixque extortum est amicorum precibus ut se pingi pateretur.' Two well-known letters of Beatus Rhenanus form a useful supplement to these autobiographical letters of Erasmus himself. One (Allen pp. 52-56: date, 1536 A.D.) is addressed to Hermann of Wied; the other (Allen pp. 56-71: date 1540 A.D.) is a preface—in the form of a letter to Charles V—prepared for the authorised edition of Erasmus' collected works, as published by Froben. The two letters were written by a warm admirer. Between them, they give a

vivid picture of Erasmus' work and character, and of the bravely borne sufferings which marked his last illness: 'et tamen in tantis membrorum cruciatibus, si quando vel minimum conquievisset, nunquam scribere destitit.' In both there is a reference to that highly characteristic will and testament of his, 'quo pauperum inopiae trifariam consultum voluit, invalidis senioque confectis, virginibus elocandis, quibus dos deesset mariti conciliatrix, et studiosis fovendis' (Allen p. 70: cp. p. 54 *ibid.*). Here we seem to come very near the heart of the real Erasmus. Not every great humanist has been quite so human as that.

The wit and graceful ease of the Epistles generally makes them very pleasant reading, even when the topics may seem somewhat trivial and altogether personal. Everywhere there is the genial egotism of a writer, who writes as he talks and who does not wish to seem better than he is, but who is transparently gentle and reasonable. To Englishmen his letters will always be of especial interest if only for their generous praise of our country, with its charming women and judicious scholars: cp. Allen I. pp. 238, 273, 498, etc. In London, even more than in Oxford or Cambridge, he found a most promising centre of learning (pp. 415, 428 *ibid.*). His criticisms, too, are no less interesting: criticisms of British jealousy (p. 497), of British laziness (p. 561), or again (in a letter of later date) of the unsanitary arrangements in British houses. It is not easy to say how far he knew the language of the people he praises and criticises. He was apt to proclaim Latin as his one and only tongue, as if indeed he had forgotten his native Dutch. He did not know enough English for the cure of souls: perhaps hardly enough for the purposes of a quarrel. In French he could, on an emergency, hold his own well enough. On his deathbed he is described by Beatus Rhenanus as 'assidue clamans, "O Iesu, misericordia; Domine fac finem; Domine miserere mei," et Germanica lingua "Lieuer Got," hoc est "Chare Deus."' Whatever may have been the extent of his own knowledge of the vernacular tongues, no man was more sincerely eager to open wide the door of learning to others. When about to publish

his *Adagia*, he was assailed with a reproach which would to him seem a compliment: 'Erasme, tu evulgas mysteria nostra.' And in the *Paradesis* prefixed to his Greek Testament he uses the justly famous words: 'I could wish that frail women everywhere might read the Gospels, might read the Epistles of Paul. I would that they were translated into every language throughout the world, to the end that they might be read and understood not only by Scotsmen and Irishmen but also by Turks and Saracens . . . I would that the husbandman might sing their strains at the tail of his plough, that the weaver might hum them at the loom, that the wayfarer might beguile a weary journey with the tales that the Gospels tell.'

To readers of this *Review* Erasmus appeals especially as a believer in education,—particularly in classical education, and in oral methods of teaching the classical languages. Above all things he was, throughout his life, an educator. By word of mouth, no doubt, he taught little, but by means of his writings he was always teaching. His voice is raised continually against all prejudices, abuses, and cruelties, whether practised in school life or in the life of men; against superstition and ignorance, against war and brutal flogging. He denounced the evils alike of any unduly athletic, and of any unduly ascetic, view of life. Roughness and morbid gloom were, both, abhorrent to him. Many educational principles, which are sometimes supposed to have been discovered in our own times, are stated and advocated in his writings. The higher education of women had his warm support. He was fully alive to the need of finding a young learner's individual bent, and of guiding rather than driving him. He attached the greatest possible importance to home influences and training. The school itself, when the time came for attending it, must not be a monastic seminary: 'schola sit publica aut nulla.' Further, he was anxious to encourage manual dexterity in the young and also, to interest them (by means of Latin dialogues) in the observation of natural objects. The time for any organised teaching of physical science had not yet arrived, but he felt that much was to be learnt from ancient Greece in

regard to all the arts and sciences of life: 'omnis fere rerum scientia a Graecis auctoribus petenda est,' as he somewhere says. He wished the whole of the ancient culture and civilisation to be studied; and was so far in the way of becoming an archaeologist that he recognised the importance of coins, inscriptions, and monuments, as well as of literary documents. His liberal views of the aims and possibilities of classical education, as set forth in Professor Woodward's books and in Erasmus' own works including the letters edited or translated by Mr. Allen and Mr. Nichols, will be found most stimulating by any classical teachers who are as yet unacquainted with them.

In Greek, as contrasted with Latin, it must always be remembered that Erasmus was, in the main, a late-learner and αὐτοδίδακτος. Such letters as those to Antony of Bergen (1501 A.D.) and to John Botzheim (1523 A.D.) make this clear. In 1500, when he would be about thirty-four years of age, Homer is almost a new author to him: 'ego quidem ita huius auctoris ardeo amore, ut cum intelligere nequeam aspectu tamen ipso recreer ac pascar.' Two years later he writes to William Herman: 'eo enim profeci ut mediocriter quae velim Graece scribere queam, et quidem ex tempore.' How far he learned to speak, as well as to read and write, Greek we can hardly say. Probably he had some practice with the Greeks he met at Paris and in Italy. In Venice he was a member of Aldus' *Neacademia*, in which (as in Aldus' household) Greek was used as a living language.¹ We cannot affirm that Erasmus himself used colloquial methods in teaching Greek, though they are directly invited by a language in which the spoken and the written word lie so specially near together. But something may be inferred from the fact that he took a strong and independent line on the subject of Greek pronunciation.

Latin, as distinguished from Greek, Erasmus had known from his earliest years: 'puer totum Terentium et Horatium memoriter

complexus est,' as a friend said of him. Writing in 1489, he mentions Terence among a number of Latin prose-writers and says of him, 'aut hoc igitur magistro aut nemine discere licebit quo pacto veteres illi Latini locuti sint; hunc igitur tibi non modo etiam atque etiam lectitandum censeo, verum etiam ad verbum ediscendum.' It should not be forgotten that he regarded Latin as a living and growing language, adaptable to all the needs of a modern community. Hence his admiration (which he shared with the humanists generally) of Terence's comedies as a refined echo of spoken Latin. Hence also his attitude towards the Ciceronians. Their servile imitation of one antique model, however great, would (he felt) ruin Latin as the language of the present and the future. For formal Latin prose composition he would draw, as his *De Copia* shows, not only on Cicero but on other good Latin writers. Cicero himself, he saw, was full of life and ease in his *Letters*; and those letters, as well as the plays of Terence, could contribute much towards a supple linguistic medium, adapted for use in Erasmus' own times.

The *Familiarium Colloquiorum Formulae*, first published by Froben in 1516, are to a considerable extent the fruit of Erasmus' own experience as a teacher of conversational Latin. They were at once commended to a wider public, not only by their excellence as an educational instrument, but by the wide range and living interest of the topics they include. Full use is made in them of concrete objects, pictures, charts, maps, etc. For example, the Colloquy entitled *Convivium Religiosum* is a lesson alike in Latin and in natural history. Grammar, Erasmus saw, must not be obtruded early, but must be based on actual speech. A leading place is rightly his among those teachers who have discerned that, in beginning a new language, oral methods should be employed as much as possible and grammar be subordinated to reading. Or, as Colet puts it, 'in the beginning men spake not Latin because such rules were made, but, contrariwise, because men spake such Latin the rules were made. That is to say, Latin speech was before the rules, and not the rules before the Latin

¹ For an interesting reference to a *Latin-speaking* household (the serving-maid not excepted), see Allen's account (i. p. 125) of the learned Friesland family of Canter or Cantor.

speech.' And therefore the best way to learn 'to speak and write clean Latin is busily to learn and read good Latin authors, and note how they wrote and spoke.' So Erasmus himself in the *De Ratione Studii*: 'nec unquam probavi litteratorum vulgus, qui pueros in his [sc. rules of grammar] inculcandis complures annos remorantur, nam vera emendate loquendi facultas optime paratur, cum ex castigate loquentium colloquio convictaque, tum ex eloquentium auctorum assidua lectione, e quibus ii primum sunt imbibendi, quorum oratio praeterquam quod est castigatissima, argumenti quoque illecebra aliqua discentibus blandiatur.'

As an instructor on these lines, Erasmus was aided not only by his unrivalled command of colloquial Latin, but by his comparative ignorance (already mentioned) of the European vernaculars. At Cambridge in 1513, when engaged in a dispute with Robert Smith the father of his young amanuensis John Smith, he finds it prudent to get a friend to translate into English a letter which he has himself drafted in Latin. In connexion with the same John Smith, regarded as a learner of Latin, Erasmus writes: 'dixit hic [sc. Robert Smith] cuidam mihi intimo, quo minus discat puer, obstare quod Anglice nesciam; imo hoc ipsum in causa est ut quammaxime discat Latine, velit nolit.' It is interesting, further, to notice Erasmus' own estimate of the success of his method as tested by the progress of this same boy: 'educatus est apud me liberaliter et meo quidem sumptu; et tametsi non profecit quantum ego cupiebam, tamen illud audacter affirmabo, illum plus scire Latinitatis quam fuerit in ulla schola, ne Lilianam quidem excipio, triennio consecuturus.' By 'schola Liliana' St. Paul's School is of course meant, William Lily having been its first High Master. The claim here made by Erasmus recalls the words of Colet in 1511: 'quando veni ad eum locum in extrema epistola tua, ubi profiteris te paucioribus annis posse adolescentes perducere ad mediocrem utriusque linguae eloquentiam, quam isti litteratores ad balbutiem, O Erasme, quam tunc optavi te praeceptorem in schola nostra.' Colet is here alluding to words found towards the end of Erasmus' *De ratione instituendi discipulos*:

'postremo tantum arbitror esse momenti in comoda docendi ratione, si modo diligens et eruditus contigerit praeceptor, ut non dubitarim meo recipere periculo, me minore negotio ac paucioribus annis adolescentes ad utriusque linguae mediocrem etiam eloquentiam perducendum, modo dentur ingenia non omnino infelicia, quam isti litteratores ad qualemcunque illam suam balbutiem vel infantiam potius provehant suos.'

Yet the oral method found no one-sided advocate in Erasmus. Translation also met with its due. As he so often points out in his letters, there is no more difficult and no more salutary exercise than that of turning good Greek into good Latin. But it is to be noticed that, for school reading, he especially recommends Lucian and Aristophanes. Like Terence in Latin, they attracted him largely because they help us to understand the language as it once was *spoken*. The present writer has found by experience that Erasmus' own Latin translations from Lucian form, when used together with the original Greek, very useful aids towards encouraging pupils in the practice of Greek and Latin conversation.

The revived interest which our schools are now showing in conversational methods of teaching Latin and Greek is a much needed reaction from too exclusively literary methods. It will be remembered that, by the age of thirteen, Richard Porson had read the whole of Terence and most of Erasmus' *Colloquies*. The school teacher of to-day will find dialogue fully used, for Greek, in Rouse's *First Greek Course*. A very brief, but attractive, selection from the *Colloquies* is now accessible in Edwards' *Colloquia Latina*, adapted from Erasmus with notes and vocabulary. This little volume contains some conversations which are sure to interest the young learner, whose wants have also been met in the well-known books of A. D. Godley, W. H. S. Jones, and E. A. Sonnenschein.¹

W. RHYS ROBERTS.

THE UNIVERSITY, LEEDS.

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¹ A few very simple dialogues from a rare manual of Colloquies for beginners in Latin, issued at Nuremberg in 1530, are printed in Woodward's *Education during the Renaissance*, pp. 323-326.—Goffeaux' Latin version of *Robinson Crusoe* (recently edited by P. A. Barnett) includes a certain amount of dialogue.

MISS HARRISON'S *PRIMITIVE ATHENS*.

Primitive Athens, as described by Thucydides.

By Miss HARRISON. Cambridge: University Press, 1906. 8vo. $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. xii + 168. Frontispiece and 49 Illustrations (Plans and Cuts). 6s. net.

THE main purpose of this book is a vindication of Prof. Dörpfeld's well-known interpretation of the passage of Thucydides (ii. 15) describing primitive Athens. The discussion of this subject deals, however, with many controversial problems of topography, mythology, and art, and almost all the discoveries of recent years are pressed into the service of the argument, whether in corroboration or merely in illustration. Thus the book serves as an interesting and readable summary of the discoveries made in Athens since the publication of Miss Harrison's *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens* in 1890, and even of much that was already found when that book was written, but was precluded by the form of the work from adequate description. But it would be doing scant justice to Miss Harrison to regard her new book mainly in this light. She expressly states in her preface that she has felt bound to write it because, 'on a question cardinal for the understanding of the early history of Athens,' she holds an opinion which has not been adequately stated by recent English writers on Athenian topography, nor, she might have added, by Germans either; for even Judeich, who certainly cannot be accused of any undue prejudice against Dörpfeld's theories in general, refuses to admit a duplication of the Pythium and Olympieum. Whatever be our views upon this most complicated question, it is a great advantage to have the Dörpfeldian view stated, as it here is, in a complete and consistent form.

It is both impracticable and superfluous to give here any criticism of the main argument: I have myself little to add to or take from the discussion of the matter which I gave in the note on Chapter IV. of my *Ancient Athens*; and the judicial summary

of the evidence given by Mr. Frazer in his Pausanias is in no way invalidated, though it may be supplemented, by more recent discoveries. But it may be noted that Miss Harrison emphasizes the point also dwelt upon by Prof. Dörpfeld in his review of Judeich's *Topography of Athens*, that the Dörpfeldian system of topography, and the interpretation of Thucydides which it implies, must stand or fall as a whole, and that it is useless to accept it in part, where other evidence is scanty or undecisive, but to reject it so far as concerns the Pythium and Olympieum, where other evidence is abundant. Miss Harrison realizes that this question of the duplication of the Pythium and Olympieum is the key to the whole position, and devotes much eloquence and ingenuity to an attempt to prove the existence of another Pythium and another Olympieum just under the Acropolis. The fact, however, remains that, while the Pythium and Olympieum by the Ilissus were among the most conspicuous and best known temples in Athens, no such second Olympieum is mentioned at all elsewhere, and that no probability, apart from the statement of Thucydides, can be adduced for its existence; and that the shrine of Apollo in the cave under the Acropolis, though it is repeatedly mentioned in literature and inscriptions, is never given the title of Pythium. Miss Harrison indeed marshalls such evidence as can be adduced for its being a Pythium with the utmost persuasiveness; but when, after due exposition, one comes to the words, 'The Pythion lies before us securely fixed, primitive, convincing,' one cannot help feeling that this confidence is excessive. If Prof. Dörpfeld's theory be correct, some such explanation of the Pythium and Olympieum will have to be accepted; but to call it convincing in itself is to overstate the case, from any point of view.

Miss Harrison concludes her book with the hope that 'Surely now at last the "Enneakrounos Episode" may be laid to sleep in peace.' How little this hope has

been justified by the event is shown by the fact that a new and very ingenious explanation of that episode has already, since the publication of Miss Harrison's book, been proposed by M. A. Malinin, who thinks he has discovered the ragged ends of the joins before and after it. Pausanias apart, it may well be doubted whether the old interpretation of the Thucydides passage would ever have been called in question. As things are, it is to be feared that those who have studied the question must remain, for the present, divided into two camps. It is a singular and perhaps a significant fact that excavations, conducted and interpreted with the utmost science and acumen, have not brought to light a single piece of evidence of which the cogency is admitted by both sides alike. And, although Miss Harrison would doubtless attribute this unfortunate state of things to the blind prejudice of those who do not accept Prof. Dörpfeld's views, the whole matter cannot so lightly be laid to rest. On the one side we have those who are so greatly impressed by the completeness and consistency of Prof. Dörpfeld's topography as to be convinced that it must be right, and that all evidence apparently inconsistent with it must be rejected or explained away; on the other we have those who prefer to weigh the evidence for each point separately, and feel unable to accept a hypothesis, however tempting, which they find, in some essential portions, to be contrary to the weight of the evidence. The question is really one of temperament rather than of argument; and, so long as the evidence remains as it is, there seems little hope for agreement between the two parties, for they have really no common basis of agreement to start from. Of this wide division Miss Harrison seems to have some consciousness when she says, 'This atmosphere of controversy, electric with personal prejudice, exhilarating as it is to the professed archaeologist, plunges the scholar in a profound dejection. His concern is not *jurare in verba magistri*—he wants to know not who but what is right.' But even if we pass over the assumption—not, I trust, in all cases justifiable—that archaeologist and scholar are mutually exclusive terms, surely Miss Harrison will admit in

her opponents what they certainly would not refuse to her and to others who take Prof. Dörpfeld's side—an honest desire to get at the truth. Our difference is only as to the method by which the truth is most likely to be reached.

To criticize Miss Harrison's arguments in detail would require a book as long as her own; and such criticism is really superfluous, since the materials for it are already available elsewhere, chiefly in the works which she quotes in her useful and convenient *Bibliography*. But one or two new details may be commented on. For instance, it is surprising to find seriously quoted, as a proof 'that the well-known Enneakrounos, Nine-spouts, was known as late as the seventeenth century to have been on the west slope of the Acropolis,' a quaint and very fanciful map, which does indeed mark a kind of swamp 'Fontana Enneacrunos' in a region, by the compass, south-west of the Acropolis, and surrounded by the 'tempio di Giove Olimpico,' the 'Palazzo di Egeo,' the 'tempio di Bacco o Lenaon,' the 'Fontana di Halirrothio,' and other objects. It is impossible to take this jumble seriously; and even if we did, from what source does Miss Harrison suppose the maker of the map to have drawn his 'knowledge' as to Enneakrounos? At the best it cannot be more than a guess suggested by a cursory reading of Pausanias, and is worthless as evidence.

Apart from controversial matter, the book is also most welcome for its account of recent investigations and for the numerous and well-chosen illustrations by which this account is accompanied. An excellent summary is given of Dr. Wiegand and Dr. Schrader's studies of the early architectural sculptures, and of the temples to which they belong; here too we have a very clear statement of Prof. Dörpfeld's new theory that the basis on which the Parthenon stands was prepared for an earlier temple, not, as he and others formerly supposed, just after the Persian wars, but in the sixth century, probably in the time of Cleisthenes. This theory of an earlier date had long been maintained, though in a different form, by Mr. Penrose: there was therefore a peculiar

pathos in a coincidence which, if I may be excused a personal reminiscence, may be here recorded. I received a letter from Prof. Dörpfeld stating his adhesion to this earlier date on the very day on which I attended Mr. Penrose's funeral. I regret that my *Ancient Athens* was published too soon for me to take advantage of a theory which, among other advantages, offers a far better explanation of the presence of the calcined drums of marble in the north wall of the Acropolis.

Finally, I have one or two personal criticisms to meet. Miss Harrison takes me to task for translating, in the Thucydides

passage, 'τὸ ὑπ' αὐτήν' as 'the district outside it.' I admit that this was injudicious, in a passage where every word is a matter of controversy, and will correct it when I have an opportunity. Another criticism I cannot so readily accept, and this is the objection to translating 'ἱερόν' by 'temple.' I chose this as the vaguest word: if Miss Harrison can suggest a better, she will confer a boon on all who have to discuss these matters; but the word 'sanctuary,' which she suggests, appears to me inadmissible, as having a definite technical meaning equivalent to the Greek ἄσυλον.

ERNEST A. GARDNER.

TUCKER'S *LIFE IN ANCIENT ATHENS*.

Life in Ancient Athens. The Social and Public Life of a Classical Athenian from Day to Day. By T. G. TUCKER, Litt.D., etc. 8vo. Pp. xiii + 212. With 2 Maps and 85 Illustrations in Text. London: Macmillan & Co. 1907. 5s.

THIS differs in many ways from the other 'Handbooks of Archaeology and Antiquities' which have appeared in the same series. It is not the work of a specialist and is frankly a compilation from various easily accessible books of reference. The author does not strive to compete with any of the current handbooks, but to set before the general reader who knows no Greek a clear and vivid picture of Athenian life from 440 to 330 B.C. He says, in his preface, 'the style adopted has therefore been the opposite of pedantic, utilising any vivacities of method which are consistent with truth of fact.' As a fair specimen of the vivacity, the following passage may be taken:

'In the Lycaean . . on the terrace called "The Walk," an individual with a capacious skull and a distinct fancy for personal adornment may be working solidly down, in language, not ornate, but effective, to the fundamental principles of politics, ethics, poetry, or logic. That is Aristotle, the more human and interesting Herbert Spencer of ancient Athens.'

The vivacity in fact is often little better than a rather slipshod and slangy colloquial mannerism. This appears in the occasional renderings from the Greek, as when we are told that Hippocrates, wishing to take Socrates to hear 'Professor Protagoras,' 'gave a tremendous thump on the door with his stick' (p. 67), which is certainly a forceful construe of πάνι σφόδρα ἔκρουε.

The English reader is not worried with Greek equivalents, and there seems to be only one word printed in Greek in the whole book, *σεμνότης*, though here and there a few appear in italics, e.g. *existo* (p. 30) and *kalos kagathos* (p. 206). It is rather unfortunate that Latin, French, and Italian words also appear in italics. This may prove a trap to the unwary who may take a passage on p. 122 to mean that *ex cathedra* is Greek: 'His master sits on the chair which was called *cathedra* and which has given vogue to our expression *ex cathedra* for the dogmatic utterances of a master.'

In the matter of transliteration the unlearned will also be at a loss, for he will find *Academe*, 'Academus,' and 'Academia,' used indiscriminately, and if he looks up the 'Peiraeus' on the maps will discover that it is also spelt 'Piraeus.' It would be well to accept the latter form, as the place is known to all sailors, and appears in gazetteers without the *e*. It would also be well to retain

Phidias, for Pheidias side by side with Epaminondas is unsightly.

Taking the book as the author wishes it to be taken, the earlier chapters give a very summary and rather scrappy account of the topography of Athens, followed by a description of the various elements in the population, 'citizens, outlanders, slaves, and metics,' and the house and its furniture.

Then follows the social day of a typical citizen who is dubbed Pasicles, has a wife Pasiclea and a son Lysimachus. He is the Charicles of our boyhood brought up to date and not allowed to 'sow any wild oats' or run into scrapes. One gets the impression that the book is *virginibus puerisque* and that the writer has had in view the requirements of young ladies attending college or extension lectures. This explains the curiously unsatisfactory way in which Art and Architecture are dealt with. We have vague generalities such as that: 'All genuine Athenian art was democratic' and 'The chisel of Praxiteles seems to have been inspired by Nature personified' (p. 189). The few allusions to actual works of Art are in no way helpful, and might be omitted without loss, e.g. 'So far as they have survived, the sculptures of the Parthenon—which were partly superintended by Pheidias—are the admiration of the world, many of them, chiefly from the frieze, being familiar in the shape of the Elgin marbles' (p. 23). Oddly enough the Panathenaic procession is described, in some detail, later in the book, but not a word is said of the frieze. Some of the references are actually misleading. Lysippus is grouped with Phidias and Praxiteles, apparently as an Attic sculptor (p. 181). The Parthenon is said to have 'three naves' (p. 21).

The best part of the book is the description of Pasicles and his doings, and one is sorry that the author did not confine himself to the social and domestic side of Athenian life, omitting the constitution,

law courts, and art. The work is throughout most conscientious, and actual mistakes are difficult to find, although one might dispute some of the renderings, e.g. 'Athenian society, says Aristophanes, consists of the flour, the bran, and the chaff. The flour is the citizens, the bran is the outlanders, the chaff is the slaves' (p. 40). Reference to *Acharnians* 507–8 shows that the quotation must be from memory, for slaves are not mentioned there.

The classical scholar will perhaps regret the absence of all references, or may amuse himself by supplying them. He will find most of them in the handbooks and will occasionally differ from the author, e.g. the statement that 'over the water supply there was a board of overseers' is rather out of date since the discovery of Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens* (43), where only one official is mentioned (cf. *Classical Review* v. p. 428). Jevons and Gardner's handbook gives the more correct account, 'a special official elected for a term of four years.' The illustrations are not remarkable and are nearly all old friends borrowed from other works. Some are the worse for wear, e.g. the Discobolus (p. 125), and some are of venerable antiquity (p. 64). The reference to Fig. 19, a brazier in the British Museum, is not correct, as Smith's *Dictionary* gives a wood-cut, not a photographic block.

In conclusion we may note that the book omits agriculture and sport, and only gives a passing reference to athletics and wrestling. It is however a useful work for a school library, and, as it cannot well be used in class, may serve to awaken in a boy who has no special liking for the classics, an appreciation of the modern character of the ancient Athenians. He will read it as most of us read Charicles, but probably with not quite so much relish.

W. C. F. A.

ROMAN FORTS IN SCOTLAND.

The Roman Forts on the Bar Hill, Dumbartonshire. By G. MACDONALD and A. PARK. Glasgow: Maclehose, 1906. 4to. Pp. 150. Various Illustrations. 5s.

I do not know how far it is permissible for a reviewer to notice an account of an exploration when he has both taken some small share in the digging and has read the proofs of the account. But I am convinced both of the special value of the Barhill excavations and of the great merits of Mr. Macdonald's account, and I cast my scruples to my readers.

Barhill is a ridge of rising ground, a little east of Glasgow, on which there once stood, one after the other, two Roman forts. The earlier and smaller, now distinguishable only by its ditch, dates apparently from Agricola. It is one of those which he erected between Forth and Clyde, as Tacitus tells us. If a conjecture which I once threw out as to the date of the Camelon finds be correct, we can now point out two of these forts. Of Barhill itself we can only say that it was a small fort, containing barely half an acre, entered by only one gate and defended apparently by curiously irregular earthworks. If, as German Limes analogies hint, the earlier frontier forts of the declining first century were smaller and simpler built than those of later generations, Barhill exemplifies the practice. The fort appears to have been occupied only a short time and then left unoccupied for long years. Here is distinct evidence that Agricola's conquests did not long survive his own governorships.

The second fort was built some sixty years later. It was larger than its predecessor and covered three acres, was surrounded by a turf rampart and formidable ditches and contained buildings—partly in stone, partly in wood—of more or less normal types. A few yards in front of it ran the Wall of Pius, and the road which provided communication along that Wall deviated to serve it. It differs in some

details from the other forts of the Wall, so far as they are known to us by excavation, just as those forts differ from one another. When one has stone walls, another massive earthen ramparts, and a third is defended by carefully laid turfs built in wall fashion, it is plain that the builders cared little for uniformity in detail. In its broader features, however, Barhill shews an ordinary Roman fort of the type used during the second and third centuries. It is especially valuable because it is at present the best known, and most fully excavated of all the Roman forts north of Cheviot and Selkirk Forest.

Many of the smaller finds made in the fort are also interesting. I may cite two instances. Some carved capitals from the cloisters of the Principia (or Praetorium), rude as they are, possess real importance for the student of architecture. They anticipate curiously the fashions of much later ages and will probably be found to illuminate the transition from Roman to post-Roman style. Some tin coins extracted from the well of the same building may be 'dummy silver,' intentionally used as cheap religious offerings. In general, the remains, with their abundance of old boots and broken crockery, indicate an occupation of many years. We have other reason to think that the Romans abandoned Scotland about A.D. 185—just when Commodus took the title Britannicus. The Barhill finds agree with this view.

I have described the site as both most full of interest and most carefully excavated. As a matter of fact, there yet remains one point to be examined. There doubtless existed a civilians' settlement without the fort. Indeed, its site is known. Its rubbish holes and rude cottages, and the shrines and bath-house which usually stood, like it, outside the ramparts, might easily yield quite as striking remains as those of the fort itself. The rubbish holes of Newstead have yielded astonishing results to the skilful search of Mr. Curle. Barhill may give us quite as much. Till then, scholars must be grateful

to the landowner, Mr. Whitelaw of Gartshore, whose munificence has made the excavation of Barhill possible, to Mr. Park, who has so well conducted the digging, and to Mr.

Macdonald, who has admirably described it. But our gratitude need not be entirely retrospective.

F. HAVERFIELD.

GREEK PAPYRI.

Grammatik der Griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit: Laut- und Wortlehre. Von Dr. EDWIN MAYSER. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1906. Svo. Pp. xiv+538. M. 14.
Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde, No. VI: Kolotes und Menedemos. Von WILHELM CRÖNERT. Mit einem Beitrag Von P. JOUGUET und P. PERDRIZET. Leipzig: Eduard Avenarius, 1906. 4to. Pp. ii+198. With photographic facsimile. M. 30.

Griechische Urkunden der Papyrussammlung zu Leipzig, 1ter Band. Von LUDWIG MITTEIS. Mit Beiträgen Von ULRICH WILCKEN. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1906. 4to. Pp. vii+380. With two photographic facsimiles. M. 28.

PROFESSOR MAYSER'S volume is founded on his earlier work of a similar title,¹ published as the *Programm* of the Heilbronn Gymnasium, and rather severely reviewed by Crönert in the *Archiv* (i. pp. 210 ff.). The appearance in the interval of several important collections of Ptolemaic papyri (though the Hibeh papyri were of course too late for inclusion) has enabled the author to amplify and improve his treatment of orthography and the relations of vowel sounds, the only subjects dealt with in the previous work; and to these is now added a full treatment of consonants and a chapter on accident; there is too an introduction on the general character of the Egyptian *κοινή* and some very useful lists of real or supposed dialectal, poetical, and foreign forms and words. The book concludes with lists of verbs and stem-formations, substantival, adjectival, and verbal.

The arrangement of the work is much

improved. A section on the 'Umstellung benachbarter Vokale,' demanded by Crönert, has been added, and a necessary distinction is now drawn between physiological and psychological influences. Another useful innovation is the insertion of an asterisk to mark words which are orthographically false, and, in certain cases, of an obelus to indicate that the text is in general carefully written. Inscriptions are used, and Mayser, rightly disregarding Crönert's advice, has cited literary papyri where they furnish good illustrations.

To the execution of the book high praise must be given. The arrangement is clear and logical, and immense industry is shown in the collection of material: indeed this is carried almost to an extreme. On p. 290, for example, under *ῥάιδιος*, it seems useless to quote a Hyperides papyrus for the normal feminine form. Mayser shows exemplary caution in the use of his instances, noticing alternative explanations; but at times, perhaps naturally, he rather exaggerates the physiological or psychological influences, and allows too little for mere clerical errors.² The book will certainly be of immense service to the study of the Egyptian *κοινή*.

Under the rather misleading title, *Kolotes und Menedemos*, Crönert brings together a number of miscellaneous articles on the later Greek philosophers, especially those of the Cynic and Epicurean schools. His book is a valuable contribution to the study of the too much neglected Herculaneum papyri, considerable portions of which he edits either for the first time or in an improved

¹ *Grammatik der Griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, I. Theil, Leipzig, 1898.

² Thus, p. 145, *δαλφοῦ* (= *ἀδελφοῦ*) used as ground for a conjecture as to a vulgar form *δελφός*; p. 147, where any or all of the 'synkopierte Formen' might be slips of the pen; p. 205, 'A <σ> κληπιδδου'; p. 228, *ἐ Πανῶ <ν> πόλεως*.

form, and to the history of the post-Socratic philosophy generally. Dealing with papyri so much damaged, it is natural that much of the book should be conjectural; but the positive results of Crönert's investigations are not small. Among other articles may be noted especially that on Colotes and Menedemus, the transcripts (pp. 55-67) of Papp. 339 and 155, the interesting Pap. 1780 (pp. 82-84), which contains Attic documents, unfortunately much mutilated, the list on pp. 94-97 of philosophers' names from Cyrene, the very full and valuable article on Demetrius Lacon (pp. 100-125), and that on the sources of Diogenes Laertius (pp. 133-147).

The volume includes an interesting publication by Jouguet and Perdrizet of a school-boy's exercise-book, which, besides alphabetical lists of words, some sayings of Diogenes, and gnomic monostichs, contains the first 13 verses of the prologue to the fables of Babrius in a version which seems to preserve an earlier and better text than that of the Athos MS.

Mitteis's edition of the Leipzig papyri must rank as one of the most important papyrus publications of 1906. The volume contains 123 texts, of which 37 had already been prepared for publication in autotype form, but were afterwards withdrawn: the rest are new. Only four texts of the

Ptolemaic period are included: the vast majority date from the second, third, and fourth centuries of our era, chiefly from the fourth. Their value is great, especially on the juristic side, and is increased by the full commentaries which are added to the more important texts. Besides those on juristic matters, the preface to No. 3, on the procedure in sales, should be specially mentioned. One of the most important texts is No. 33, a *denunciatio ex auctoritate*; but the whole of this section, the *Gerichtsakten*, is of unusual interest, especially 34 and 35, relating to a case of alleged embezzlement of military moneys, the proceedings in which took place partly in Syria; 38, a record in Greek and Latin of a law-suit in Hermopolis; 40, a similar record of proceedings in a criminal trial; and 43, a judgement of a bishop named Plusianus in the fourth century, sitting ἐν τῷ πύλῳ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, in a charge against a nun of abstracting Christian books. Another interesting section of the volume (Nos. 45-56) is concerned with warranties of the fourth century, and among the accounts No. 97 is especially noteworthy, as, in addition to its general interest, it throws some light on metrological questions.

The volume contains the usual full indexes, among which one of abbreviations and symbols is very welcome.

H. I. BELL.

PAIS' *LEGENDS OF ROMAN HISTORY*.

Ancient Legends of Roman History. By ETTORE PAIS. Translated by MARIO E. COSTENZA. London: Swan Sonnenschein. 9" x 5½". Pp. xiv + 336, with 52 plates and 5 cuts.

THE name of Ettore Pais is perhaps even now not so well known in England as it deserves to be. He has done notable work in connexion with archaeology and inscriptions, and has made the early history of Italy and Sicily a subject specially his own. For some time after his '*Storia di Roma*' appeared, it met with comparative neglect at the hands of scholars; but its qualities are

now tolerably familiar. It shows a remarkable combination of learning with fantasy, and of criticism with prepossession. Many of the explanations of early legends are almost as fantastic as the legends themselves. The eager desire to reduce dates, and to cast doubt on hitherto accepted statements, leads to many twists and turns in argument. One consul must be held legendary because the name he bears is of note in later history, another because his name never appears again. Ancient writers are invoked to refute modern archaeologists, and modern archaeologists to refute ancient writers, in dazzling alternations. Tradition and criticism put

each other to shame with equal effect. But apart from its many faults, its unsafe enthusiasm, and its dangerous plausibility, the 'Storia di Roma' is a great book. It compels reconsideration of results in scholarship which have been held most secure, and handles well-worn themes with inexhaustible freshness.

The present volume consists of lectures given in America, where the author now resides. Most of the topics with which it is concerned have also been treated in the 'Storia di Roma.' The main principles of the treatment are of course the same, but there are differences of detail which are often interesting. After the onslaught, in the earlier work, on the traditions connected with the XII Tables, it is pleasant to hear of 'a legal code attributed to Servius Tullius and exposed in the forum long before the time of Flavius' (p. 41). And on p. 21 the genuineness of the treaty with the Latins, negotiated by Spurius Cassius, seems to be accepted, though its traditional date is changed to 480 B.C. The portions of the volume which are entirely new will, however, have greater attraction for students of early Roman history. They present, as was to be expected, much that is valuable, mixed with much that is fanciful or untrustworthy. There is a long discussion of the famous inscribed 'cippus' found in the forum, in which the author sees a monument of the middle rather than the early Republic, or the late Monarchy. In this discussion the ingenuity and resource which have always characterised Pais are conspicuously displayed; also his constant prejudice against early dates. But I find his polemic to be in several respects unsatisfying. The epigraphical argument seems to be inadequate and unsound. The date which is favoured is 362 B.C., but the improbability of this date, in face of the language of the 'cippus,' is not considered. We can form a rough idea of what Latin was like about 200 B.C. That the Latin of the 'cippus' should have changed into the Latin of Ennius in the course of about a century and a half implies a transformation for which it would be hard to find a parallel in the history of languages. Partly in connexion with the 'cippus' and

partly in relation to other matters, Pais delivers some strenuous assaults on Italian archaeologists of the present day, and particularly against the whole school of 'Paletnologia.' The grounds for the attacks are in some cases already familiar. It is a lamentable fact that the records of some recent excavations in Italy cannot be used with the confidence which we are accustomed to place in the reports of excavation in Greek lands. But Pais does not always tilt against incredulity; as a refreshing change he sometimes turns against scepticism. So he defends the genuineness of the well-known Etruscan *tegula*, said to have been found at Capua, and now in the Berlin Museum. This he uses in order to buttress the belief, much assailed in recent times, in an Etruscan lordship over Campania.

If space allowed, it would be pleasant to draw attention to other matters of striking interest, in which the volume is rich. I hope it will be widely read, but with constant recollection of the maxim 'νᾶφε καὶ μένσας ἀπιστεῖν.' Many confident statements will be found which do not rest on adequate evidence, and the abundant references to ancient literature cannot, unfortunately, be taken upon trust. When they are verified, they often fail to prove what the author supposes them to prove. Pais is sometimes severe, and rightly so, on arguments drawn from etymology. But he does not always keep clear of such errors himself. In speaking of the 'Curia Hostilia,' he connects its name with *hospes*, and infers that it was the place at which the foreign ambassadors were received in early days. Then 'the Curia Hostilia, from being the military headquarters where *hospites* might be fittingly received, became the seat for civil transactions, and the *hospites* were after the year 296 B.C. welcomed in the temple of Bellona in the Campus Martius' (p. 39). There is no evidence whatever to support such a statement. On the one hand, foreign envoys were sometimes received in other temples outside the city, as well as that of Bellona: in the temple of Apollo for example (Liv. 34. 43). On the other, envoys often had audience of the senate in the *curia*. When the reception took place outside, the meeting

was sometimes held there for mere convenience, and sometimes because, the relations between Rome and the foreign state being unfriendly, the envoys were not admitted within the *pomoerium*. In Liv. 30. 21 will be found side by side, an example of friendly ambassadors who are greeted in the *curia*, and one of unfriendly ambassadors who are received outside the city. On p. 41 we read of 'the temple of Flora, which Varro affirmed as having been founded by the mythical king Tatius.' But Varro affirmed nothing of the kind. In *L. L.* 5. 74 he mentions a number of divinities to whom the king erected shrines (*arae*), among them Flora. But he does not identify these shrines with temples existing in his time; indeed the word *arae* excludes such an inference. Again, on p. 5, Polybius is declared 'to have affirmed that he was quite ignorant of the

private and political institutions of the ancient Romans.' But the ignorance of which Polybius speaks (6. 3 § 3) is not his own, but that of his Greek readers. Moreover, he refers not to the *ancient* history of the Romans, but to their whole past (*τῶν προγεγονότων*). A little later he announces his intention of removing the ignorance of which he complains (c. 9 § 13). Also in 6. 3 § 3 the words *ιδιωμάτων κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ* are not to be construed together, but rather *ἄγνοιαν κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ*.

I have perhaps spoken at undue length of the defects of the book. But the work of Pais, after being undeservedly neglected, seems now likely to be overvalued. Unfortunately, the volume is disfigured by many serious misprints, and, abounding as it does in details, it suffers from want of an index.

J. S. REID

THOMPSON'S ELEMENTARY GREEK GRAMMAR FOR SCHOOLS.

An Elementary Greek Grammar for Schools. By JOHN THOMPSON, M.A., Senior Classical Master at the High School, Dublin. Part 1: Accidence, 152 pp.; Part 2: Syntax, 137 pp. Price 1s. 6d. each Part; or in one volume with Indexes, 3s. London: John Murray, 1905.

THE object of this book is 'to give in a form suitable for beginners the elements of Greek Grammar.' The author knows his subject well and has produced a good reference grammar; for beginners the book seems to me too difficult. Turn for instance to the seventeen pages on the third declension. To the student who has had a term or two of Greek, who knows the commonest words, and who is beginning to feel the need of a scientific classification of the facts, Mr. Thompson's arrangement of the words, regular and irregular alike, according to the final letter of the stem will be useful. But to the beginner it will seem that in order to know any Greek one must have the memory and industry of a Chinaman. The arrangement brings out the differences and tends to conceal the similarities. Yet the important points are not really numerous. Sixteen of the paradigms given in this book follow one type and could, *if they were put together*, easily be learned at one time: it would only be necessary to fix in the mind the nom. and gen. sing. and dat. pl. (and in a few instances the vocative), thus:

φύλαξ	φύλακος	φύλαξι
Ἑλλην	Ἑλληνος	Ἑλληνσι.
Add the neuters of the same type		
σῶμα	σώματος	σώμασι,

and one knows a very large proportion of the words of the third declension. When these are known it is easy to add words of the same type which have any peculiarity, such as *θρίξ* and *πατήρ*. It is a pity that many of the paradigms are cut in half, so that one cannot compare the singular and plural of *πατήρ*, e.g., without turning the page. Much of the information about the stems tends to increase the burden on the memory and would be better in an appendix. There is by the way, an excellent appendix on 'Some Sound Changes.' It surely adds to the difficulties of the beginner just at the stage when he is acquiring large numbers of new words and new forms to tell him that *γένος* belongs to the class of 'Stems ending in a Spirant, σ(s)' and that the final σ of the stem *γενεσ-* was elided when a vowel followed. At a later stage, when he knows a number of words in which the same elision may be observed, e.g. *ἐλῶ* compared with *ἡλασα*, he will be in a position to understand the matter. Again it adds to the difficulties to say that ι or η is the sign of the optative and to print as Mr. Thompson does *ε-ῖην* and *παύ-σε-ι-αν*. It makes the words harder to recognise, and many students, in spite of the note at the foot of the page, will follow the usual convention and pronounce *ε-ι* as two syllables. The Accidence, as a separate book, has no Index. It is not easy to find what one wants in the eighty pages on the verbs. An alphabetical list of irregular verbs is for the beginner the most useful part of a Greek grammar. It would be well to expand the list in this book, to include for instance *θαυμάζω* and *πράττω* (the two perfects active of *πράττω* are given on an earlier page, but their meaning is not distinguished). It would

also be well to give more tenses and to distinguish more clearly those that have active from those that have middle or passive meaning. A quite intelligent student of Mr. Thompson's list might suppose that *ἤρέθην* meant 'I chose,' that *ἐβουλήθην* is passive, and that *ἐγρήγορα* is transitive. It is worth while to give plenty of space in order to make such things clear; in many places the English equivalent is necessary, for instance *ἀπεδόμην*.

To turn to the Syntax. The constructions that puzzle the beginner are those in which Greek differs from English and from Latin. He has first to grow accustomed to such types as *πάντα βεῖ* (not *βένουσιν*) *ἔφη ποιήσιν* (*dixit se facturum*), *οἶδά σε σοφὸν ὄντα* (*scio te esse sapientem*), *εἶπεν ὅτι ποιήσῃ, ἔαν ἔλθω* (*si venero*). On the other hand he does not need at first and cannot appreciate a systematic syntax, such as this, in which these new constructions are classified among a number of others, which, because they are found in English or Latin, present no difficulty to him. At a later stage such a study is useful. A clever boy who has worked at Greek for a year or two might learn much from Mr. Thompson's Syntax. But he will not always see the point that he is meant to see. In some places an example is necessary. It is not enough to say that *αἰσχύνομαι* with a participle means 'I do it with shame' with the infinitive 'I do not do it for shame.' To bring home the difference one wants an instance, and the matter may be made clearer by comparing *ῥιδομαι ποιῶν* with the first and *οὐκ ἐθέλω ποιεῖν* with the second. Sometimes the wording of the rules is not quite clear: for instance: The participle 'is used with (a) verbs of perception, and verbs denoting (b) the result of or (c) the cause of perception.' Neither (b) nor (c) suggests the right

class of verbs to the mind: the result of perception may, it is true, be knowledge. But it may also be emotion or action. The explanation of the uses of the cases, based to a great extent on Brugmann, is scarcely adapted to the understanding of the beginner. Such statements as: 'The nominative denotes the central idea round which the action of the verb moves' or, 'The True Genitive denotes some kind of connection' belong to an advanced stage of the study of language. The uses of the True Genitive depending on nouns, adverbs, verbs are, as in Brugmann, treated separately. The consequence is that the partitive genitive, e.g., comes many times over, *μέτοχος* is separated from *μετέχω*, and *δούλος πέντε μῶν* from *ἦν ἑτῶν ὡς ἑπτακαίδεκα*. Hence, it is difficult to carry away any definite impression. The list of verbs taking the genitive will puzzle the student. It begins with *ἐσθίω* (the difference between *ἐσθίω τὸν ἄρτον* and *τοῦ ἄρτου* is explained later) and includes several such words as *φθονῶ* without any example or note.

In conclusion I should like to suggest that we might with advantage draw a much sharper distinction between the elementary and the scientific grammar. The aim of the first should be purely practical; only such words and forms should be included as the beginner is likely to meet fairly often (not e.g., *κάρρη*, *πελέα*, or *ἀλώπηξιν*); the material should be arranged, not as in the latest *Historische Grammatik*, but in the order in which it is most easy to assimilate. The scientific grammar is for those who have some knowledge of the language. Its aim is to classify the facts, to point out connections between them, to trace their history. It appeals to the reason rather than the memory.

W. E. P. PANTIN.

CORRESPONDENCE

(To the Editor of THE CLASSICAL REVIEW.)

SCHOOL EDITIONS AND THE TEACHING OF GREEK.

DEAR MR. EDITOR,

I am somewhat disturbed by the short shrift that you have given to certain School Editions of the Classics in the last number of the Review (p. 90). I have not had the pleasure of seeing all the seven books you comment on, but I have three of them by me at the present moment, and, whatever their faults or merits, it surprises me that you class them together as the same type of book. Of the late Dr. Shuckburgh's *Herodotus IV*, it can perhaps be said that it is a school book of 'the old type' in the sense you mean. The way that the text is printed, with little English summaries written right across the page, e.g.

'To the North of the Argippacans is a land unknown, of which fabulous stories are told' does certainly suggest that the editor had beginners in his mind. None the less the book contains no short introduction to the dialect of Herodotus, which would be essential for a beginner, and the notes are

rather adapted for the Sixth Form. For example under *ἐνιαυτοῦ περιφερομένου* (ch. 72), I find the note 'Homer's plural *περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν* is not really parallel,' without further explanation. An allusive remark like this would be unintelligible unless one had already read a good deal of Homer.

While, however, it may be fairly urged that Dr. Shuckburgh had scarcely thought out the standard of his public, it appears to me that this is emphatically not true either of Mr. Marchant's *Thucydides I*, or of Mr. Ure's *Selections from Thucydides VI*. Mr. Marchant's books are definitely meant for Sixth Form Boys. The notes are not diffuse nor epideictic, but they are not meant for beginners. They give just the kind of help that a Sixth Form boy, or a good Pass man, or a Second or Third Class Honours man, needs. It seems therefore off the point to apply to this book your remark 'Notes of all sorts are jumbled up together,

some meant for very beginners, others for advanced students. There is no evidence that the editors know what are the needs of young boys, or how to meet them intelligently.'

When, however, I turn to Mr. Ure's book I am still more staggered by your criticism that it is a school book of 'the old type.' It is, on the whole, the most revolutionary book on Elementary Greek that I know. It is an experiment of 'the new teaching,' moving on parallel lines with your own 'First Greek Course,' Mr. Chambers's 'Greek War of Independence,' and Professor Walters's and my own 'Forilegium Tironis Graecum.' It is from first page to last meant for beginners, definitely, and—some old-fashioned people might think—even comically, meant for beginners. On p. 55 I find 'The article often preserves before μέν and δέ its original use as a pronoun (cp. Eng. *the*=*this*, Fr. *le*=*ille*). You must always decide from the context whether the article before μέν and δέ is used as a pronoun, as in this passage, or merely as the article, agreeing with some substantive that follows.' On p. 60 again I read that 'There are two negatives in Greek οὐ and μή'; and I do not think there is a single remark in the book out of harmony with these true, but scarcely 'advanced' statements! The principles, too, on which Mr. Ure has acted are fully explained in his Preface.

You will perhaps answer me, Mr. Editor, that Thucydides is not meant for 'young boys.' But why should you assume that all beginners are young boys? The book was written for the Matriculation Examination of the Northern Universities. Why should we only publish editions that assume that Greek is begun at the age of eleven, or even at that of fourteen? The whole tendency of the more advanced opinion on the teaching of Greek is that, even under favourable conditions, it had better be begun some years later than it is at present. You are yourself, of course, one of the chief exponents of this view. Even those, however, who are not convinced that this is the ideal to aim at, must allow that in a large number of boys schools, and in the majority of girls

schools, arrangements are not in fact made for teaching Greek till towards the end of the school course. There are plenty of people, too, who want to learn Greek, and yet have no opportunity of being taught it at school at all, but have to teach it themselves with a little private help, so as to fit themselves for the younger Universities. I have had several hundreds of students in my Greek classes since I have been at Cardiff—and the figures are not an exaggeration—who never began the Alphabet till they were 18, 19, or 20. A few of them have become very good scholars indeed, but—what is far more important—the great mass of them have taken a working knowledge of Greek and a love of Greek to many scattered pulpits, and many small secondary schools. This has probably happened on a bigger scale in Wales than elsewhere, because the Welsh temperament loves Greek poetry; but it is happening more or less all over the country. In the past, knowledge of Latin and Greek was a Class Distinction, and a Sex Distinction also. We hear from the great public schools that this is passing away, and that 'modern sides' are increasing at a rapid rate. If this tendency were not counterbalanced in another direction there might be cause for alarm. What is really happening, however, is that the old Class and Sex Distinction is being replaced by a new and more natural line of Cleavage. Our aim now must be to enlist on the side of Greek all those who love poetry and value the spiritual side of things, all who want to know what is said in the greatest of the world's literatures. And we want books for them, not baby books, nor dull books, but the best things in Greek adapted for grown-up beginners. We want Homer, and Plato, and Thucydides, and Aristophanes; and so long as the subject matter is great, and we are introduced to it by a good scholar, we shall listen to him with gratitude when he tells us that 'There are two negatives in Greek, οὐ and μή.'

I am, dear Mr. Editor,

RONALD BURROWS.

University College, Cardiff.

LATIN READING IN SCHOOLS.

SIR,

Might I, as one imperitiae obscuritate inuolutus, ask for enlightenment on some words of Prof. E. V. Arnold in his article on Latin and Politics (above, p. 67)? 'Already in more quarters than one the idea is gaining ground that the best Latin authors only . . . must be selected . . . so as to form a complete scheme of reading within the ordinary school course.'

I had thought that this was an idea against which the Classical Association would warn those who desire a 'quickenings of the spirit and renewing of the methods of classical teaching,' exhorting them to an extension of the curriculum.

May I quote Lord Halsbury's words at the Second general meeting of the Classical Association January 1905 (*Proc.* p. 35)? 'I do not mean to say that

the jealous treatment of Greek literature in the sense that none but the best models shall be presented to the pupil's mind has not been too rigidly insisted on, and that there might well be a more diffused and more free intercourse with Greek writers, even if not the best specimens of Attic Greek. Few books are more amusing to a boy than Herodotus I have referred to Greek but it is only because the cry against Greek has been the loudest and most insistent. The narrowness of the Latin curriculum is still what one learns from those who have ceased to take any interest in Latin literature. Horace and Virgil—Virgil and Horace. How many have read or heard of the *Quaestiones Naturales* of Seneca? And how many but for the exertions of Mr. Rowe and Mr. Justice Ridley would have read Lucan's *Pharsalia*?'

G. A. PURTON.

MALARIA IN ANCIENT GREECE.

THE Hippocratic writings mention tertian and quartan fevers. These fevers almost certainly occurred in Attica. See Plato *Timaeus* 86A τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐκ πυρὸς ὑπερβολῆς μάλιστα νοσήσαν σῶμα συνεχῆ καύματα καὶ πυρετοὺς ἀπεργάζεται, τὸ δ' ἐξ ἀέρος ἀμφημερινούς, πριταίους δ' ὕδατος διὰ τὸ νωθέστερον ἀέρος καὶ πυρὸς αὐτὸ εἶναι· τὸ δ' ἐκ γῆς, τετάρτως δὲ νωθέστατον τούτων, ἐν τετραπλασίαις περιόδοις χρόνου καθαιρόμενον τεταρταίους πυρετοὺς ποιῆσαν ἀπαλλάτ-

τεται μόλις.

Compare with this Sir P. Manson *Lectures on Tropical Diseases* (1905) p. 153. 'Any febrile complaint with a definite tertian or quartan periodicity is certainly malarial. No other infection exhibits this type of periodicity.'

W. H. S. JONES.

Perse School, Cambridge.

REPORTS

OXFORD PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.—HILARY TERM, 1907.

ON Feb. 1st, at Christ Church, Mr. MYRES read a paper on 'The Growth of the Pelasgian Theory.' The paper has since been published in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.

On Feb. 8th, in Wadham College, Mr. H. P. RICHARDS discussed some passages in the *Republic* of Plato.

On Feb. 15, in St. John's College, Mr. FOTHERINGHAM read a paper on 'The Thalassocracies in Eusebius.' The paper has been published in the *J.H.S.*

On Feb. 22, in University College, Mr. FARQUHARSON read a paper on 'The Names of Aelius Caesar, adopted son of Hadrian.'

An attempt was made (1) to prove that Aelius Caesar did not bear the cognomen Verus; (2) to show the origin of the confusions in *Historia Augusta* as to his name.

(1) The monuments nowhere give to this prince the name Verus. Before adoption he is L. Ceionius Commodus, after L. Aelius Caesar. His ancestors (consulares) bear the names Ceionius Commodus. His son is known (till the death of Pius) as L. Aelius Aurelius Commodus. Precisely upon his accession he becomes on monuments and coins L. Aurelius Verus. These evidences agree with Capitolinus' explicit statements that Marcus (son of M. Annius Verus) gave his own name, 'quasi pater,' to Lucius, when he took him as colleague. From this date Marcus drops the cognomen Verus, his favourite name as Caesar. He takes instead the cognomen Antoninus, as Pius upon accession had taken that of Hadrianus. To emphasize the dynastic succession, based upon the fiction of adoption, he gives Lucius his own birth-name Verus. This view is abundantly illustrated and confirmed from the imperial coins.

(2) Later writers invent pedigrees for L. Aurelius Verus, giving to his father and grandfather the names Aurelius, Verus, and even Annius. At the same time is current the directly contradictory (and false) theories that Marcus was father by adoption of Verus, or was his blood relative. Thus 'quasi pater' becomes in Spartianus 'pater.'

The truth is that the name Verus came from his adoptive brother, as the name Aurelius from his adoptive father.

Mr. TOD read a note upon 'A Statute of a Greek Thiasos.'

On March 1st, in Balliol College, Mr. BAILEY read a paper on 'The Theory of Anaxagoras.'

On March 8th, in St. John's College, Mr. HALL read a paper on 'Knoke's Theory of the Aristotelian Katharsis.'

On March 15th, in Trinity College, Mr. H. STUART JONES read a paper on 'The Second Dacian War of Trajan.'

His object was to show that in the first campaign of this war the Dacians crossed the Danube, invading the province of Moesia and compelling Trajan to hasten to the relief of the menaced garrisons by the route from Lissus to Naissus, and thence to the Danube. He admitted that Cassius Dio, in stating that after the close of the first Dacian war Decebalus agreed τῆς χώρας τῆς ἐλαγκνίας ἀποστῆναι (lxviii. 9), meant that the territory conquered by Trajan was to be evacuated (cp. the same phrase in lxviii. 22, τῆς Μεσοποταμίας ἀποστῆναι), but held that either the conditions of peace were never completely fulfilled, or that by some means Decebalus was able to bring about the departure of the Roman troops from Dacia, if not to expel them by force: since the reliefs of the column, when rightly interpreted, clearly showed that Trajan in the first campaign of the second war was engaged on the right bank of the Danube. The second series of reliefs opens with a 'continuous' narrative passage depicting Trajan's journey to the seat of war. The port of departure is universally agreed to be Ancona; but, whereas Petersen thinks that Trajan first coasted up the Adriatic to Rimini and Ravenna and thence crossed to an Istrian port, *en route* for Sirmium, Cichorius holds that he crossed to Iader, proceeded by Scardona to Salona, and thence marched to Sirmium. Petersen's criticisms on Cichorius' interpretation are in some respects justified, but he seems to be quite wrong in supposing that Trajan at first followed the Italian coast-line. After landing at the port rightly identified by Cichorius as Iader, Trajan is seen paying a visit of inspection to an inland camp garrisoned by legionaries. This could not possibly be placed in Italy (as Petersen's theory demands) but may be Burnum, at one time the headquarters of a legion, and still probably garrisoned by a detachment: it is indeed very likely

that the force assembled for the first war was not immediately dispersed and sent back to the other frontiers, but may in part have remained within reach of the⁵ Danube. Burnum has extensive remains, still known as 'Trajanski grad' (Trajan's city), and at Asseria, between Iader and Bumum, an arch was erected in Trajan's honour, as is shown by an inscription found in 1900 (*C.I.L.* iii. 15021). The large town, with a theatre, etc., next shown is Salonae; but Trajan did not finally land here, as Cichorius supposes, for the sailing-ship shown in the relief indicates that the last stage in Trajan's sea-voyage was of some length. This suits the voyage down the Adriatic coast to Lissus, whence an important military road, perhaps dating from the time of Augustus (see von Domaszewski in *Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Oesterreich*, xiii. 144 f., and *West-deutsche Zeitschrift*, 1902, 175), ran to Naissus. Trajan's march reaches a pause at a point where he is greeted by friendly Dacians, and this may be the place which is marked on the Table of Peutinger as Theranda, but is conclusively shown by Carl Müller's collations of the MSS. of Ptolemy's Geography (ii. 16, 7) to have been called Thermidava, where the termination unmistakably points to a Dacian settlement; doubtless Trajan transplanted certain Dacian tribes after the first war and settled them in this region. Here the 'continuous' narrative ends; and in the following scene we have a sacrifice at six altars, both Romans and Dacians being present. We may naturally identify the spot as Ulpiana, a foundation of Trajan's, where he may well have established the cult of the *divi* (to which the number of altars possibly points); the case of Arae Flaviae in the *agri*

decumates is similar. Patsch has indeed made it probable (*Festschrift für Benndorf*, pp. 273 f.) that Remesiana was the meeting-place of the *concilium* of Moesia Superior; but we find there dedicatory inscriptions set up by the *respublica* of Ulpiana, which presuppose a specially fervent worship of the Emperors in that community. After this pause we have a finely conceived 'panoramic' scene representing the relief of Roman garrisons threatened by the Dacian invaders. This panorama is complete in itself and strictly symmetrical. At either end we have a group of *classarii* engaged in road-making, the figure of Decabalus balances that of Trajan, and so forth. After this is represented Trajan's arrival on the banks of the Danube at the bridge of Turn-Severin. He first offers sacrifice, then crosses the bridge and receives embassies on the further side. These scenes divide the second war into two halves: the second campaign is formally opened by the Romans as in both years of the first war. If we are to hold with Petersen that the garrisons relieved were north of the Danube, we have (1) to extend the panorama so as to include the scenes at the bridge, which destroy its symmetry; (2) to identify the *castellum* seen in the background of Trajan's sacrifice with Drobetæ on the left bank, and the town with amphitheatre shown in the following scene with Pontes on the right bank: whereas the reverse is evidently the fact, for Pontes was a mere *castellum* (whose remains have been traced by Kanitz), while Drobetæ had been a flourishing *municipium* since the Flavian period. Cichorius' theory that the scene of hostilities in the second war was Northern Dacia is *a fortiori* to be rejected.

F. W. HALL, *Hon. Sec.*

ARCHAEOLOGY

MONTHLY RECORD.

GREECE.

Sparta.—The excavations conducted by members of the British School at Athens have resulted in the discovery of the temple of Athena Chalkioikos, situated, as we know from Pausanias (III. xvii. 3), upon the acropolis. The identification is rendered certain by the finding of three stamped roof-tiles, which give the name of the goddess—'Αθηνας [Χα]λκιοίκου. The discovery of fragments of bronze plating and numerous bronze nails show how the sanctuary got its special name. The objects were found at a comparatively slight depth and are a good deal mixed, with the exception of the geometric pottery. The following are the most important antiquities discovered: (1) eight bronze bells, two inscribed; one of these reads *FEIPANA AΘANAIAI ANΘEKE*. (2) A sixth century archaic bronze statuette of a Herm with close fitting dress, apparently (from its pattern of rings) representing chain-mail. (3) A very fine fifth century bronze statuette of a trumpeter, 13 cm. high. This is said to be one of the best things found as yet in Laconia. (4) A fourth century bronze statuette of Athena. (5) Bronze statuettes (chiefly archaic) representing a man with a wreath, Aphrodite armed, a negress, a horse, a lion, and a bull. It may be noted that Pausanias states

that there was a temple of Warlike Aphrodite behind that of Athena of the Brazen House., (6) Fragments of a fifth century Panathenaic amphora with two inscriptions, a figure of Athena, and remains of a chariot. Fine work. (7) Two archaic inscriptions, the one short with a probable mention of the Spartan *Apella*, the other of not less than 52 lines in good preservation, dealing with athletic victories. Fragments of two capitals show that the temple was in the Doric style. Besides this sanctuary two other small structures have been found within the same *temenos*; these are probably also sanctuaries. A mile to the North of Sparta what is probably a Heroon has been unearthed. It contained about 10,000 small vases, but little else of importance. Work has been proceeding on the site of the Artemisium, and the rich archaic stratum has been reached. Finds resembling those of last year have been made, and several inscriptions of Roman date dedicated to the goddess have been discovered. About half the circuit of the Roman town wall has been traced.¹

¹ The above is based on letters from the Director of the British School, Mr. R. M^cG. Dawkins, kindly lent to me by Mr. George Macmillan. Cf. *The Times* of April 10th and 29th.

ITALY.

Rome.—A small altar recently discovered has an inscription mentioning the *venus Statue Matris*. The most important feature, however, is the date—*L. Caninio Gallo, C. Fufio Geminio* cos. xiii. K. Octobr.—which enables us definitely to assign the celebrated *Lex Fufia Caninia* (regulating the manumission of slaves) to the year 2 B.C. C. Fufius Geminus was *consul suffectus*.

Excavations at the fifth mile of the Appian way have established the existence of a building which may with much probability be regarded as a posting-station.²

² *Notizie degli scavi*, 1906, parts 5 and 9.

Ostia.—Near Casone a cellar has been discovered containing 35 casks sunk into the ground. With these were found numerous terracotta double-moulds with representations of victorious charioteers, a combat of a *bestiarius* with a bear, combats of various animals, a scene from a tragedy (Oedipus and the Sphinx?), scenes from a comedy, and various animals. From the form of these moulds and their designs, it is conjectured that they were used for the bread eaten at the *Epulum Iovis* which followed the *ludi plebei*.³

F. H. MARSHALL.

³ *Ibid.* part 10.

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Aeschylus. Aeschyli cantica, digessit Otto Schroeder. (*Bibl. Script. Gr. et Rom. Teub.*) 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. viii + 120. Leipzig, Teubner. 1907. M. 2 40.

— The Agamemnon of Aeschylus, rendered into English verse by W. R. Paton, Ph. D. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 72. London, D. Nutt. 1907. Cloth, 5s. net. *Anthologia Latina* sive poesis latine supplementum, ediderunt F. Buecheler et A. Riese. Pars prior. Carmina in codicibus scripta, recensuit Alexander Riese. Fasc. ii. Reliquorum librorum carmina, editio altera denuo recognita. (*Bibl. Script. Gr. et Rom. Teub.*) 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. vi + 410. Leipzig, Teubner. 1906. M. 4.80.

Asconius Pedianus. Q. Asconii Pediani orationum Ciceronis quinque enarratio, recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit Albert Curtis Clark. (*Script. Class. Bibl. Oxon.*) 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5". Pp. xxxvi + 104. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1907. Paper 3s., Cloth, 3s. 6d.

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Calderini (Dott. Aristide) Di un' ara Greca dedicata agli dei inferi esistente nel Museo Archeologico di Milano. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 34 and 2 Plates. Milano, Ulrico Hoepli. 1907.

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Gundel (Guilelmus) De stellarum appellatione et religione Romana, scriptis G.G. (*Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten, herausgegeben von A. Dieterich und R. Wünsch. Band III. Heft 2.*) 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. 93–252. Gieszen, A. Töplemann. 1907. M. 4.40.

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- Leges Graecorum sacrae et titulis collectae, ediderunt et explanaverunt Joannes de Protet Ludovicus Ziehen*. Pars altera. Fasc. 1. *Leges Graeciae et insularum*, edidit L. Z. $10'' \times 6\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. viii + 372. Leipzig, Teubner. 1906. M. 12.
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- Wilamowitz-Moellendorff* (U. von), see *Schubart* (W.).

The Classical Review

AUGUST 1907

ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

LATIN COMPOSITION.

I THINK every one ought to be dissatisfied with the standard of Latin and Greek composition, both at school and college. A piece of composition in any language which is not approximately correct, is, in my opinion, worth little : and one which wins only half marks is practically worthless. What good purpose can be served by an exercise which is half wrong? How can any mental discipline be of value which accepts such a standard? How can any real literary feeling be present in one who knows no more of accident and idiom than to produce such a thing? These paragraphs in which I explain my own thoughts may not meet with the reader's acceptance : but what would the reader think of them if every other sentence were incorrect in some way, and if many of them were a travesty of English idiom? No thoughts so expressed could gain a hearing; all the reader's faculties would be absorbed in roars of laughter.

And yet, worse standards than this are accepted. Thirty-three per cent. is generally counted a pass mark ; in many school exercises a mark is given for every word that is right, even if five-sixths or nine-tenths be wrong, and if the whole be a horror. I have known successful teachers, who told their pupils to put dashes if they did not know

anything, and I have seen a dozen lines of English represented in examination after this fashion :

Tum - - - - venire - - quem - - -
- cuius - - - - -
- - et - - - - neque - - - - hoc - - - -

None of us, again, who have had to instruct more advanced pupils, at school or university, but have met constantly with blunders in elementary accident, blunders in syntax, literal translations of English words in place of idiomatic phrases, even sheer stupidities like *Equites Arabici* for Arabian Nights. I suppose many of us schoolmasters regard it as one of the joys of our calling to keep a book of comical answers. I am convinced also, that hardly any but the very best boys or girls have any idea of the effect of rearranging the words in a correct Latin or Greek sentence. The rank and file, the middle forms of public schools, are in a slough of despond.

Is there any cure for this? If not, I for one believe that classical study must do positive harm. The result of the study on those who make such blunders is surely bad ; surely it cannot be maintained that those who tolerate them can feel the beauty of the classical authors when they read them, or indeed

that they understand them at all. As soon will I believe that he enjoys and understands a fugue of Bach played on King's College organ, who goes home, and sings a music-hall song, out of tune, to the accompaniment of a cracked piano.

One cause of this state of things is clear: pupils are habitually allowed to go on to the later stages without having mastered the earlier. If 33 per cent. will do for the fifth form, it will doubtless do for the first; time presses, and the boys must go up; no doubt they will soak in the grammar with time. But they don't; the second form has its own quota, and one master relieves his mind by saying hard things of the other: the boys, however, continue to be passing rich on thirty-three per cent. Whom are we to blame, then? The master of the first form, or the boys, or the powers that fix the allotted task for each form? Or nature? perhaps it may be inevitable.

But it will be seen at once that this is not inevitable. If we confine ourselves to the simplest vocabulary, accident, and idiom, it is possible to attain accuracy. This may imply that we do not at first read classical authors, but very simple pieces of Latin written by Englishmen, or by Corderius or Erasmus, and that we exercise our pupils in very simple expressions of thought. I believe that this, even if no more were possible, would be better intellectually than to read Virgil with understanding of thirty-three per cent., and to write Latin prose of the same standard. But much more is possible.

Our problem is partly dependent on time: if therefore we can find a way which saves time, we shall be able to do more. Now it takes about five times as long to write as to speak; if then we do our practice work by speaking instead of writing, we shall be able to advance a good deal faster. The method of oral question and answer has other advantages. When a pupil has laboriously hammered out some sentence, and carefully written it down, it leaves an impression far stronger than the master's correction, even if that be followed by a correct writing. I urge that the mistakes should be made orally, and instantly corrected by the master; then the correct phrase to be repeated by the boy and by the

whole form in chorus; but nothing to be put down on paper until there is good likelihood of the result being quite right. Secondly: there are in conversation a number of small changes which make it necessary for each party to keep his intelligence active. If I ask, *Quid facis?* the answer is not *quid facis*, repeated parrot-wise, but (say) *nihil facio*, or *scribo*, or what not. Thirdly: it is possible by question and answer to make clear from the first the essential structure of an inflected language, as depending for emphasis on the order of words; and this lies at the root of style. Thus a simple sentence may give matter for several questions. Take *Caesar Labienum laudat*. I may ask, *Quem laudat Caesar?* Answer: *Labienum laudat Caesar*. Question: *Quid facit Caesar?* Answer: *Laudat Labienum Caesar*. If all the texts read are treated in this way, the pupils become used to correct accident, syntax, and order, and learn the elements of style. If again the teacher will condescend to use words which may not often meet him in the inspired vocabulary of Caesar, he has to hand in the daily business of the classroom a means of practice, which will enable him easily to drill his form in all the common constructions of syntax. Instead of, 'Open the window, Smith,' why not say, *Faber, aperi fenestram?* And as Smith does it, let him say, *Aperio fenestram*. Then we may proceed as follows: *Quid dicis? Dico me aperire fenestram. Ludovice, quid dicit Faber? Se fenestram aperire dicit Faber. Balbe, quid dixit Ludovicus? Fabrum fenestram aperire dixit Ludovicus*. All this is a clear gain: for the time would otherwise have been spent without a word of Latin. And more is possible still. *Tu, quid est tibi nomen? Nomen est mihi Alexandro. Scisne quid fecerit Faber? Scio quid fecerit Faber. Quare aperuit fenestram? Ut aer iniret; ne suffocaremur, ne moveremur*. At the end let all be tested by writing, until they know the rules perfectly, which they soon will.

These exercises are all exercises in accident and syntax; the vocabulary is small, and well known. To increase vocabulary, other means must be taken; but my object has been to show, how a class of average boys may be led to express simple ideas in correct

and idiomatic Latin: more complex ideas must be treated in another way. For this purpose, and for new words, the reproduction of a story is very useful. Any simple story will do, but it should have a point, and be such as to interest the pupils. I would tell the story in simple sentences, asking the class to repeat what is said in one shape or another, with strict orders that no boy shall let anything pass that he does not understand, whether word or construction. I give a few sentences as an example, from the story of the tailor who pricked the elephant's trunk with his needle.

Master. Solebat aliquando elephantus quidam cottidie iter facere praeter tabernam. Quid faciebat?

Boys. Iter faciebat praeter tabernam.

M. Quando?

B. Cottidie.

M. Dicite igitur quid factum sit.

B. Elephantus quidam cottidie praeter tabernam iter faciebat.

M. In hac taberna sedebat sartor.

A Boy. Nescio quid sit sartor.

M. Scribe tu in tabula. [*A boy writes it on the board.*] Sartor is est, qui sarcit vestimenta: sarcio, sarcire, sarsi, sartum. An comprehenditis?

Boys. Non comprehendimus quid dicas.

M. Anglice *tailor*. Quis est igitur sartor?

B. Is qui sarcit vestimenta, sartor est.

M. Ubi sedebat?

B. In taberna sua sedebat.

M. Ita: sedebat in taberna sua sarciens vestimenta.

—Now combine those two sentences.

A Boy. Solebat elephantus quidam iter facere cottidie praeter tabernae.

M. —tabernam—

The Boy. Solebat elephantus quidam iter facere praeter tabernam, in qua sartor sedebat sarciens vestimenta.

In the same way, all the logical connexions are brought out: first simple sentences are given, then two combined, then more if

necessary; and finally the class write out the whole, each in his own way, but with instructions to include (say) relative clauses, a *cum*-clause, purpose, consequence, or whatever the master's plan may have been. By degrees the amount of help is decreased, until the outlines of a story only are given, to be filled in: or a theme to be discussed, or an event described.

Now, and not before, I would present to the boys a new problem, in the shape of a piece of English to translate into Latin. The piece should not include constructions which have not been used already in the reproductions or free compositions; and especial care should be taken not to give for translation turns of idiom which express any thought that has not been already expressed at some time by the boy. If this be impossible, the master should tell the boy how to treat the new idiom. The same may be generally said of vocabulary; but that does not matter so much as idiom, since the possible mistakes would not be so bad.

How far this plan could be carried we cannot tell without trying; but I believe it might be carried very far. At any rate, a set of exercises can be produced by average schoolboys of fifteen, which are approximately correct: there may be three or four mistakes on the average, and several pieces will be quite perfect. Our chief hindrance is lack of material; but the boy's command both of vocabulary and idiom may be very greatly enlarged by a certain treatment of the text-books that are read. This must be reserved for another occasion.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

GREEK LITERATURE AS ILLUSTRATING HISTORY.

THE article by Freiherr von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff in the February number of the *Class. Rev.* on the teaching of 'Greek in the Public School' raises a vital question. The traditional theory of classical teaching in England depends for its validity upon the importance of scholarship in a general secondary education. The article in question boldly proposes to abandon the pursuit of

linguistic subtlety and to replace it by something more closely related to life. Many will be prepared to believe that the permanence of Classics in the Public School curriculum depends upon some such change of attitude. Without in any way desiring to minimise the value of accurate scholarship, it may well be argued that it is essentially the pursuit of the specialist and therefore

unsuited to form the pivot of secondary education.

But this does not necessarily imply the abandonment of Classical study: it only involves a change in method. It will probably be admitted in general terms that our aim should be to produce not 'learned men and dilettanti—but philosophers in Plato's sense.' Yet, if one may venture to question so eminent an authority, the substitute proposed seems not entirely satisfactory. In particular the sections devoted to Natural Science, Mathematics, and Hygiene seem open to criticism. Sections IV, V, and VI confessedly abandon all claim to linguistic beauty, but do they supply us with an efficient substitute from an educational point of view? For Classics neither should nor can be the handmaid of Science: the classic will deplore the debasement of his subject, while the scientist will entirely repudiate the alliance.

But if sections IV, V, and VI were erased, there would be no difficulty in supplying their places: for surely the section allotted to history is inadequate. Teaching History (especially Ancient History) by the biographical method has much to recommend it. Boys are naturally interested not in causes but in persons, and from this point of view the purely classical curriculum may well be regarded as neglect of an opportunity. To the average Public School-boy Caesar is apt to figure merely as the author of the *De Bello Gallico* or at most as the invader of Britain. But the man should come first:

especially as the personality of Caesar is one that cannot fail to attract any lad of ordinary imaginative powers.

Applying this attitude to Section II in the proposed Reader, it is surely fair to maintain that the treatment of history is inadequate. The employment of the biographical method does not preclude continuity, and a practically continuous history possesses an educational value wholly impossible in a few isolated biographies. Of course the teacher can always do something to fill in the gaps, but those in the paragraph referred to are too considerable to be readily supplied in this way.

Again is it not a mistake to carry so far the avoidance of dialectical form? It is true that the objections to a mere *ex cathedra* statement (*e.g.* that *λόγως* is the Doric equivalent for the Attic *λόγους*) are serious, but the literature which is excluded by a rigid adherence to this principle is surely a greater loss.

Finally it seems almost a pity to introduce Roman history into a Greek Reader, when the claims of Greek history are so hard to satisfy. Why should not Roman history form the basis of a similar Latin Reader? This will leave an adequate space for the treatment of the sister subject, which in these circumstances could be made at once sufficiently interesting to attract, and sufficiently coherent to educate. The amendment proposed might take the following form: Expunging sections IV, V, and VI section II might read as follows:—

II.—GREEK HISTORY.

1. The Heroic Age *Iliad*: Selected episodes, *e.g.* Achilles' sorrow for Patroclus.
The Death of Hector.
2. The Dorian Invasion Hdt. ix. 26.
3. The Legislators Solon: Arist. 'Αθ. Πολ. 2. 3. 5-12.
Poems 1. 2. 3. 9. 32. 36, *Anthologia Lyrica*, Teubner.
4. The Tyrants Greek hatred of the name.
Theognis 891-894; 1203-1206, *Anth. Lyr.*, Teubner.
Peisistratus: 'Αθ. Πολ. 14-17.
Periander: Hdt. v. 92. Speech of Corinthian Ambassadors.
5. The Persian Wars Thuc. i. 128-138. [Pausanias.]
Aeschylus' *Epitaph*.
Salamis: Aesch. *Persae*, 290-470.
Plutarch *Themistocles*, Selections; *Aristides*, Selections.
6. The Delian League Plutarch *Aristides*, Selections.
7. Spartan and Athenian characters (a) Spartan: Tyrtæus 13 [*Anth. Lyr.* Teub.];
(b) Athenian: Pericles' Speech, Thuc. ii. 60-64.

8. The Peloponnesian War. . . . Pericles : Thuc. ii. 65.
[Campaign in the north-east]. Brasidas : Thuc. iv. 78-81.
[The Episode of Sphacteria]. Cleon : Thuc. iv. 27-41.
[The Sicilian Expedition]. . . Alcibiades : Thuc. vi. 9-18.
9. The Spartan Supremacy . . . Lysander : Plutarch, Selections.
10. The Theban Supremacy . . . Epaminondas, in Plutarch's *Life of Pelopidas*.
11. Philip of Macedon . . . Demosthenes *Philippics*, Selections.
12. Alexander the Great. . . . Arrian vii. 8-11, 24-30.

While claiming that such a scheme satisfies the contentions elaborated above, it is not intended to be exhaustive or inelastic. Does not the teaching of history demand free exercise of individuality as much as or even more than any other subject? Interest on the part of the teacher is the only guarantee for the interest of his pupils : and to display this interest in the most convincing fashion the

teacher must be allowed considerable latitude in the treatment of his subject. The scheme is merely intended to illustrate the practicability of a continuous reading of Greek History based upon the biographical method—an attempt to strike the mean between a cumbersome volume and inadequate treatment of the subject.

WALTER S. HETT.

ΣΥΚΟΦΑΝΤΗΣ.

THE origin of the term *συκοφάντης* is one of the small but unsolved problems of classical philology. It was indeed regarded as something of a puzzle even in the fourth century B.C. For Alexis in his comedy *The Poet* wrote :

The name *fig-shower* is not rightly used
Of scoundrels. No, the first part *fig-* should be
The mark of a man both innocent and sweet.
But this sweet innocent is nowadays
Tacked on to a scoundrel, and we wonder
why.¹

Three different answers to the riddle were propounded by the learned in ancient times. (1) Istros, the pupil of Kallimachos, who published his *Attika* about the year 200 B.C., stated in it that dried figs were not exported from Attica but retained for home consumption and that, when many smugglers were informed against (*ἐνεφανίζοντο*), those who denounced them to the dikasts were dubbed *συκοφάνται*.² Plutarch *à propos* of a law of Solon, which forbade the exporting of any Attic produce except oil and threatened the offender with the archon's curse, remarks :

¹ Alex. *ap.* Athen. 74 E-F = Meineke *F.C.G.* iii. 468 f.

² Istr. *ap.* Athen. 74 E = Müller *F.H.G.* i. 423.

'Hence we should not dismiss as wholly incredible the view of those who say' what Istros said.³ And the same view is recorded by sundry other grammarians and lexicographers.⁴ (2) Philomnestos in his work *On the Rhodian festival of the Sminthia* advanced a second explanation : 'The word *συκοφάντης* is derived from the fact that in those days fines and taxes took the form of figs, wine, and oil, on the proceeds of which the state conducted its affairs. Those who demanded these payments in kind and handed them over to the state (*εἰσφαίνοντας*) they called, as it appears, *συκοφάντας*, choosing for the purpose the most trustworthy of the citizens.'⁵ (3) Suidas has yet another view : 'When a famine arose in Attica, certain persons plucked the figs that were sacred to the gods. Afterwards, on the return of plenty, others accused them. So this was the origin of the word *συκοφάντης*.'⁶

³ Plut. *v.* Sol. 24.

⁴ *Et. mag.* 733, 42 ff. *s.v.* *συκοφαντία*, *Et. Gud.* 514, 22 ff. *s.v.* *συκοφαντεῖν*, Suid. *s.v.* *συκοφαντεῖν*, Phot. *lex. s.v.* *συκοφαντεῖν*, Bekk. *anecd.* 304. 30 ff. *s.v.* *συκοφαντεῖν*, schol. Ar. *Plut.* 31, Eust. *Od.* 1495, 16 f.

⁵ Philomn. *ap.* Athen. 74 E = Müller *F.H.G.* iv. 477.

⁶ Suid. *s.v.* *συκοφάντης*.

Suidas' notion appears elsewhere¹ and might be brought into connexion with known religious usage. For figs are associated with a variety of deities and festivals, e.g. Demeter,² Zeus Συκάσιος³ or Μειλίχιος,⁴ Dionysos Συκαίτης,⁵ Συκίτης⁶ or Μειλίχιος,⁷ Hermes,⁸ Priapos,⁹ the Horai,¹⁰ Helios,¹¹ and again the Plynteria,¹² the Thargelia,¹³ the Brauronia,¹⁴ the Hyakinthia.¹⁵

But the rock on which all these ancient derivations make shipwreck is the analogy of the word ἱεροφάντης, which goes far towards proving that the second element in the compound meant not 'one who *shows up* or *informs against*' but simply 'one who *shows* or *exhibits*.' The same consideration, among others, will not let us argue from Theokritos' σύκνοι ἄνδρες¹⁶ or the like to συκοφάντης in the sense of 'a worthless informer.' Indeed it is doubtful whether

even the uncompounded φάντης was ever used to denote 'an informer.'¹⁷

The view put forward by Mr. Lancelot Shadwell, viz. 'that the word properly meant a fig-shewer, i.e. one who brings figs to light by shaking the tree . . . and then, metaph. one who makes rich men yield up their fruit by false accusations and other vile arts'¹⁸ gives a more natural sense to -φάντης, but seems somewhat fanciful and far-fetched, and is hardly established by the occasional juxtaposition of σείω and συκοφαντῶ.¹⁹

But, failing these explanations, in what direction are we to look? Just a century has gone by since J. F. Boissonade complained *De Sycophantis omnia fere jam sunt occupata*,²⁰ and it may be thought presumptuous at this time of day to hazard another guess about so trite a topic. Still, the key of comparative folk-lore has already fited so many rusty locks that it seems worth while to give it a turn.

One of the commonest prophylactic gestures all round the northern shores of the

¹ Schol. Ar. *Plut.* 31, Philemon s.v. συκῆς (cited by Boissonade on Philostr. *her.* p. 320).

² There was at Athens a suburb called Ἱερὰ Συκῆ, where Demeter first bestowed a fig-tree on the hero Phytalos. The fruit of this tree was believed to be the earliest example of cultivated fruit and was named ἡγητορία (?) or ἡγήτρια (?) or ἡγητρίας (*sic*), presumably because a cake of it called ἡγητορία was carried in the procession of the Plynteria (Paus. 1. 37. 2, Philostr. *v. soph.* 2. 20. 3, Athen. 74 D ἡγητορία, *Et. mag.* 418, 49 ff. s.v. ἡγητορία, Eust. *Od.* 1399, 29 ff. ἡγήτρια, *ib.* 1964, 11 ff. ἡγητρίας, Hesych. and Phot. *lex.* s.v. ἡγητρία, Hesych. s.v. ἱερὰ, Phot. *lex.* s.v. ἱερὰ συκῆ. See also W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 164).

³ Eust. *Od.* 1572, 36 f. Cp. the myth of Zeus and the Titan Συκεύς (Steph. Byz. s.v. Συκαί, Athen. 78 A-B).

⁴ Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2558 ff., cp. Athen. 78 c μελίχα = σῦκα.

⁵ Hesych. s.v. Συκαίτης. Dionysos discovered the fig-tree (Sosib. *ap.* Athen. 78 c, *Et. mag.* 455, 30). See further Hesych. s.v. Θουανίδας· ὁ Διόνυσος παρὰ Ῥεδίοις· τοὺς συκίνους φάλητας.

⁶ Athen. 78 C a Laconian cult, cp. S. Wide *Lak-nische Kulte* p. 166 ff.

⁷ Athen. 78 C a Naixian cult.

⁸ Hesych., Phot. and Suid. s.v. σῦκον ἔφ' Ἑρμῆ.

⁹ Theocr. *cf.* 4. 2, *Anth. Plan.* 240. 1 ff. Philippios, 241. 1 ff. Argentarius, Hor. *Sat.* 1. 8. 1 ff.

¹⁰ Ar. *fax* 1164 ff.

¹¹ Lyd. *de ost.* 45, cp. *Plut. symp.* 4. 2. 1, 5. 9.

¹² *Supra* n. 3.

¹³ A. Mommsen *Feste der Stadt Athen*² Leipzig 1898 p. 468 ff.

¹⁴ Mommsen *ib.* p. 458 f.

¹⁵ M. P. Nilsson *Griechische Feste* Leipzig 1906 p. 129 ff.

¹⁶ Theocr. 10. 45 with schol. Cp. Zenob. 3. 44, Macar. 7. 82 f., 88.

¹⁷ See Steph. *Thes.* s.v. φάντης.

¹⁸ L. and S. s.v. συκοφάντης.

¹⁹ *ib.*

²⁰ Boissonade's ed. of Philostr. *her.* Paris 1806 p. 320.

²¹ O. Jahn 'Über den Aberglauben des bösen



a. Egyptian. b. Neapolitan.

FIG. 1 (1).

Mediterranean and the Levant was and is the thrusting of the thumb between the first and second fingers of the closed hand.²¹ The two amulets in the adjoining cut (fig. 1) are from

my collection and represent the said gesture, one in blue Egyptian porcelain, the other in Neapolitan coral. Greek and Roman examples in ivory, bronze, silver, glass, coral, and



a. from Tyndaris. b. from Kertsch.

FIG. 2.

precious stone have been elsewhere published, e.g. an ivory hand from Tyndaris (fig. 2a)¹ or a bronze hand from a grave at Kertsch

(fig. 2b).² I add, for purposes of comparison, a series of specimens both ancient and modern now preserved in the British Museum (fig. 3).³ The gesture, as Th. Echtermeyer was the first to point out,⁴ is described by Ovid as a protection against ghosts :

signaque dat digitis medio cum pollice iunctis,
occurrat tacito ne levis umbra sibi.⁵

The modern Greeks have recourse to it if any one stares too hard at a child.⁶ The modern Italians use it to avert the evil eye.⁷ In Somerset, Yorkshire, etc. it serves as a protection against witchcraft.⁸ And, speaking generally, we may assert that it is apotropaic or prophylactic in character.

Now this gesture is regularly called 'the fig.' The French say *faire la figue* in the sense of 'mépriser, braver, se moquer.'⁹ The Italians say *far le fiche*.¹⁰ The Spaniards,



FIG. 3 (3).

Reading from the left :—

1. Small with silver mount (no information).
2. Xanten (*castra vetera*), from Houben Collection.
3. Coral (no information).
4. Silver mount (no information).
5. Xanten, as No. 2.
6. Openwork (no information).

Blicks bei den Alten' in the *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der königlich sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*. Philologisch-historische Classe. 1855 p. 80 f., C. Sittl *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* Leipzig 1890 pp. 102 f., 123, F. T. Elworthy *The Evil Eye* London 1895 p. 235 ff.

¹ Reproduced from O. Jahn *op. cit.* pl. 4, 9, p. 81, cp. C. Sittl *op. cit.* p. 123 fig. 7.

² Reproduced from O. Jahn *op. cit.* pl. 5, 2, p. 41 n. 44 c, p. 81 n. 221, cp. Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. ant.* i. 257 fig. 310, Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 76 fig. 76.

³ For the photograph from which this cut is taken

I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr. R. A. Smith.

⁴ Th. Echtermeyer *Proben aus einer Abhandlung über Namen und symbolische Bedeutung der Finger bei den Griechen und Römern* Halle 1835 p. 32 f.

⁵ *Ov. fast.* 5. 433 f.

⁶ C. Sittl *op. cit.* p. 123.

⁷ *Id. ib.*

⁸ F. T. Elworthy *op. cit.* p. 256.

⁹ É. Littré *Dictionnaire de la langue française* Paris 1863 i. 2. 1669a.

¹⁰ Th. Echtermeyer *op. cit.* p. 32, F. T. Elworthy *op. cit.* p. 257 n. 404 ff., G. Körting *Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch* Paderborn 1901 no. 3730.

hacer la higa.¹ The Portuguese, *dar huma figa*.² The German *einem die Feigen weisen* has the same force.³ And similar phrases are cited from Bohemia and Poland.⁴ I suggest, then, that the Greek *συκοφάντης* meant at first 'one who shows the fig,' i.e. one who makes with his hand the sign known as 'the fig.' To do this before a person or thing was to imply that he or it was an evil to be averted by superstitious means. Hence *συκοφαντεῖν* with an accusative case would connote an insulting assumption that the object of the verb was bad, and might be rendered 'to slander grossly' or 'to misrepresent in an outrageous fashion'—the sense that it commonly bears in extant literature.

The gesture in question had undoubtedly a phallic significance.⁵ And so had the whole group of words denoting figs: cp. *ficus*,⁶ *ficoides*,⁷ *ficetum*,⁸ *mariscus*,⁹ *σῦκον*,¹⁰ *συκῆ*,¹¹ *σῦκινος*, *συκάζειν*,¹² *συκώδης*,¹³ and

¹ G. Körting *ib.*, cp. V. A. Huber *Skizzen aus Spanien* Göttingen 1828–1833 p. 263.

² C. Sittl *op. cit.* p. 103.

³ Th. Echtermeyer *op. cit.* p. 32, F. Flügel *Deutsch-englisches Wörterbuch* Brunswick 1894 s.v. 'Feige.'

⁴ C. Sittl *op. cit.* p. 103 n. 6.

⁵ See O. Jahn *op. cit.* p. 50 f., C. Sittl *op. cit.* p. 102 f., E. Littré *op. cit.* p. 1669a, G. Körting *op. cit.* no. 3730.

⁶ Mart. *ep.* 1. 65. 4, 4. 52. 2, *C.I.L.* iv. 1820.

⁷ Mart. *ep.* 7. 71. 1 ff., *carmin. Priap.* 41. 4, 50. 2.

⁸ Mart. *ep.* 12. 33. 2.

⁹ Juv. 2. 13, Mart. *ep.* 12. 96. 10.

¹⁰ Ar. *pax* 1350 with schol., *Anth. Plan.* 240. 7 f. Philippos, 241. 5 *Argentarius*.

¹¹ Archil. *Athen.* 594 D, Ar. *eccl.* 707 ff.

¹² Stratt. *ap. Athen.* 592 D, Hesych. s.v. *συκάζειν*.

lastly *συκοφαντεῖν*¹⁴ itself. One is disposed to ejaculate with Demosthenes¹⁵ *πονηρόν, ἄδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πονηρόν ὁ συκοφάντης καὶ πανταχόθεν βάσκανον καὶ φιλαίτιον*.¹⁶

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

P.S.—I regret that I have not been able to consult S. Reinach 'Sycophantes' in the *Revue des Études grecques* xix. 335 ff. The brief summary in the *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift* April 27, 1907, says: 'Führt nach Zurückweisung der früheren Erklärungen das Wort nach Analogie von *ιεροφάντης* auf den alten Kult der Phyaliden in der *ἱερὰ συκῆ* zurück. Der Sykophant hatte auch, gleich dem Hierophantem in Eleusis, alle Frevler und Verdächtigen von der Kultfeier auszuschliessen und wurde so im Laufe der Zeit zum Typus des böswilligen Anklägers.' —A. B. C.

¹³ Schol. Theocr. 5. 114, where Ahrens reads *συκάδα φησὶν* for the vulg. *συκάδῃ φύσιν*: schol. Ambros. 222 (k.) has *συκάδῃ φησὶν*.

¹⁴ Plat. *com.* and Menand. *ap. Suid.* s.v. *συκοφαντεῖν* and *ap. Et. mag.* 733, 48 ff. s.v. *συκοφαντία*.

¹⁵ Dem. *de or.* 242.

¹⁶ Since the foregoing article was completed I have seen that C. Sittl, after indicating the phallic character of *die Feige*, remarks in a foot-note (*op. cit.* p. 103 n. 1): 'Es müsste denn sein, dass *συκοφάντης* eigentlich *ὑβριστής* bedeutete.' This in part anticipates my conclusions.

Parallels, more or less close, to the history of the word *συκοφαντεῖν* might be made out in the case of *καταδακτυλίζειν*, *σκιμαλίζειν*, *σκινθαρίζειν*, and the like.

SOPH. *ELECTR.* 724.

ἔπειτα δ' Αἰνίανος ἀνδρὸς ἄστομοι
πῶλοι βίῃ φέρουσιν, ἐκ δ' ὑποστροφῆς,
τελοῦντες ἔκτον ἑβδομόν τ' ἤδη δρόμον,
μέτωπα σνμπαίονσι Βαρκαίοις ὄχοις.

The explanation given of the accident in Jebb's edition is as follows. 'Just as he (the Aenian) was passing the goal, his horses bolted. Hence he could not work them quite round into the track. They turned out of the left-ward curve (ἐξ

ὑποστροφῆς), and ran straight on. Meanwhile, one of the two Libyan chariots had swept round the goal in a wider circle, on the Aenian's right. The Aenian's horses dashed head-foremost into the Libyan's team, striking it on the left side.' This explanation is open to several objections. To begin with, it would have been almost, if not quite, impossible for the second chariot to have gained so much during the turn as to present its left side to the bolting team.

In the next place, the horses were less likely to bolt while turning, when a strong strain was being applied to the near rein, than after the strain had been relaxed, and they had been given their heads again in the straight. Finally, the words μέτωπα συμπαίονσι are, to say the least of it, not well chosen to describe such an accident as is suggested above.

Taking these words in their natural sense as the key to the true meaning of the passage, I would suggest that what happened was this. The Aenian, who is leading, has got round the post, and is preparing to drive back in the opposite direction to the other competitors, who have not yet finished the sixth round. Directly after the turn has been made (ἐξ ὑποτροφῆς, *post flexum*, Linwood) his horses bolt, swerve to the left, and meet the Barcaeian team, the second in the race, front to front. The following six chariots, one after another (ἄλλος ἄλλον), crash into and increase the wreck, but the wily Athenian, and Orestes, who was lying back last in the race, pull wide to the right and so avoid disaster. This explanation may possibly have been that of the scholiast in his brief comment, ἐξ ὑπαντήσεως ἐκείνων ὑποστρεφόντων. Compare the expression καὶ τὰ μέτωπα συναράττονουσιν ὥσπερ οἱ κριοί. Lucian *Anach.* § 1.

Of course the accident could not have happened in this way had there been anything

in the nature of a *spina*, but I do not believe such things existed in early times. At any rate the Attic vase-painting of the fifth century B.C., referred to in Jebb's note on l. 720 (Panofka, *Bilder Antiken Lebens*, Pl. iii. No. 10, Schreiber, *Atlas of Classical Antiquities*, Pl. xx. No. 10), shows nothing of the kind. I have since found that the above explanation is practically identical with that offered by Musgrave in the Oxford edition of 1800. His note, which is illustrated by two rough diagrams, is as follows. 'Fingamus lineam, quam describere debuerint currus, ellipsin fuisse, cujus duo foci fuerint metæ. [Fig.] Jam quid vetat equos Aenianis cursum introrsum flectentes equorum insequentium frontibus occurrisse?' [Fig.]

I may perhaps quote from a letter written by the late Sir Richard Jebb, to whom I sent the substance of this note soon after the appearance of his edition. 'I can only say that I shall carefully weigh your explanation,—and the more willingly, because I have always felt the obscurity of the passage. I quite agree with you about μέτωπα συμπαίονσι suggesting that the teams met front to front: that is undoubtedly the most natural sense for the words, and it is a great recommendation of your view that you obtain that sense.'

HERBERT W. GREENE.

Magdalen College, Oxford.

NEWS AND COMMENTS

AFTER this month, Dr. J. P. Postgate will cease to be formally connected with this *Review*. His connexion with it has lasted just nine years, Mr. Marindin having retired in July 1898. It is unnecessary to remind our readers how much the *Review* owes to Dr. Postgate; and we are glad to add that his help and advice will be available in the same generous measure as it has been. The relations of the *Review* and the *Quarterly* will of course remain the same, as they were explained in the February number: that is,

the editors will act in concert, and contributions offered for the one will be considered also for insertion in the other, unless the writers desire otherwise.

The editor would take this opportunity of appealing to schoolmasters for contributions touching upon professional matters. One of these has already been introduced by Mr. Burrows's letter on school books. The question of annotated editions is of great importance, and is worthy of a discussion on

general principles. The debate at the Headmasters Conference two years ago, showed that there was a strong feeling on the matter in many quarters.

Our readers will be interested to hear that the essay on Malaria, on which letters have appeared in this journal, is in type, and will soon be published. It is the joint work of Mr. W. H. S. Jones, Dr. Ellett, and Major Ross: thus both the scholarly and the medical sides of it will be trustworthy. The subject has a value more than antiquarian: the effect of malaria on national character is undoubted; and if it be established that this disease came into Greece about the time of the Peloponnesian War, the deterioration of the national character after that time may partly be accounted for. Conversely, if it be stamped out of modern Greece, we may hope for a strengthening of the modern Greek nation which may benefit the world.

Few of the practices of the emender are more annoying than his habit of posting his happy thoughts to the editor without taking the trouble to ascertain if they have been anticipated. From such, all but omniscient editors should exact a statement that the contributor has made reasonable search to see if he has been forestalled. Then we should be spared such a sight as is presented in the April number of the *Revista di filologia*, where a writer puts forward one of the most famous of Madvig's emendations, the *quid amet* for *quidam et* in Seneca Epist. 89. 4 (see *Advers.* I. p. 28), as if it were a novelty of his own.

The attention of our readers may be directed to a *Memorandum on the Study of Languages* just issued by the Scotch Education Department (Wyman and Sons, Fetter Lane, price 1½*d.*). This pamphlet is remarkable as the first official publication to regard the study of foreign languages as a whole. It should, indeed have included English (which is issued separately, price 2*d.*); but apart from that criticism there is hardly any fault to find. The pamphlet sets forth those principles which must equally be observed in teaching all

foreign languages; and in particular, it urges the necessity of an appeal to the ear. In the same connexion, we would refer to Prof. J. E. B. Mayor's speech at the St. Andrews celebration to George Buchanan (George Buchanan: a Memorial, 1506-1906, p. 476).

An Institute of Archaeology and Archaeography has been founded in Moscow, to which the Czar has granted a charter. Archaeography is defined as the science of studying, ordering, and arranging all collections which may be serviceable to Archaeology. Only graduates of a university, Russian or foreign, will be admitted as students; and after a three years' course, a degree of Doctor of Archaeology or Archaeography may be obtained.

M. Uspensky is the Director, M. Visotsky the Secretary, and there is a staff of archaeologists and explorers as professors.

The *Classical Quarterly* for July has been made a double number. This, it is hoped, will render it possible to complete the first volume within the year and to bring its publication in future issues into line with that of the *Classical Review*. The articles are of varied interest—critical, grammatical, historical, literary, archaeological. Mr. Hodgman's 'Verb Forms in Plautus,' Mr. Housman's 'Luciliana,' and Mr. Richards's 'Further Notes on the Greek Comic Fragments' are concluded. The Editor contributes further notes on Lucan VIII. Mr. T. W. Allen discusses the real character of the 'Sons of Homer,' and Miss Matthaei the classification of Roman allies and the meaning and use of the terms *amici* and *socii*. Mr. Tenney Frank in a paper entitled 'Caesar at the Rubicon' gives reasons for believing that Antony has interpolated a passage in Caesar's *bellum civile*. Mr. Garrod discusses four places in Pindar, Dr. Kronenberg emends a series of corrupt passages in the *Moral Epistles* of Seneca, and Mr. Jas. T. Allen propounds a novel view on the Greek Tragic Actor's costume in the 5th century. The reviews include notices of Vattasso's Uncial Fragments of Livy (Mr. W. C. F. Walters), Lindblom on Silius Italicus (Mr. W. C. Summers), Commentationes Philologae Ienenses (Mr. R. G. Bury), Rodo-

canachi's 'Capitol' by the Director of the British School at Rome, and a review of recent American Doctoral Dissertations in Classics (a list of 46 is given) by Mr. W. A.

Heidel. Summaries of periodicals (General Archaeological and Numismatic) conclude the number.

CORRESPONDENCE

MR. LANG'S *HOMER AND HIS AGE*.

I MUST apologise to Mr. Lang and to the readers of the *Classical Review* for having delayed so long to answer his friendly criticism (*C.R.* xxi. pp. 49-51) of my review of his book (*ib.* pp. 19-23). I will take his points in the order in which he gives them.

The first is scarcely a serious one, and I would not allude to it if it had not worried Mr. Lang so much that he has even carried it to the unsympathetic columns of the *Illustrated London News*! I really do not see why Mr. Lang should have minded my making that remark about the Laird of Runraurie. I am lost in admiration at Mr. Lang's wide range of illustration, but the obvious relish with which he gives us details of the life and manners of Glenbucket and Glenbuckie and Arnprior of Leny and Cluny and Lochiel and Claverhouse and Dugald Dalgetty and the Sconce of Drums Nab and the Laird of Drumthwacket and Jamie Telfer of the Fair Dodhead, makes it fair to chaff him a little. It is quite a large gallery, you see, and we can add to it Sutherlandshire cairns, and Celtic hillocks near Kildonan, and Runrig fields, and Burns and his Sculduddery Lays, and Scott and Mrs. Brown and the Border Minstrelsy. The allusions to things Scottish are nearer twenty than two, and even those that are strictly Highland are more than Mr. Lang makes out. Why he should disown them I cannot conceive.

It is difficult to be more serious about the next point. Mr. Lang objects to my calling him an athetizer. If he regards it as a term of abuse, I gladly withdraw it. But what is to be my amended description of his views? he did not athetize the line about iron, he tells us, but 'offered alternative solutions,

twice.' What are these alternative solutions? *That either the line is a late addition, or his theory is untenable.* It is difficult to see how this improves matters! Does Mr. Lang, in point of fact, believe that the odds are even on his theory? I thought it was the one and only solution, complete and four-square, rising superior to any 'baffling residuum'! Is it my fault that I assumed that Mr. Lang believed in it?

I still maintain that the phrase in the *Odyssey* that 'iron does of itself attract a man' is the rock on which Mr. Lang's theory breaks, and that the evolutionary view is the only one on which it can be satisfactorily accounted for.

The next point we come to is the Shield of Achilles. I quite agree with Mr. Lang that in the great days of Knossos and Phaestos shields were probably not metal-plated. I have gone into the matter in my *Discoveries in Crete* (pp. 206-7), and it is sufficient to say here that it is not necessary to suppose that the work of art which inspired the first poet was a shield at all. It may have been a chest of cypress wood, such as that which was decorated with the porcelain plaques at Knossos. Such a description could be taken over as soon as ever shields were strengthened with bronze plates. The five folds of *Iliad*, xviii. 481, show us that the decoration was originally conceived as engraved on metal bands running round a foundation of hide. On the other hand, the making of the shield as we have it (468-80) points to a still later stage, contemporary with the tin greaves; it undoubtedly implies that the whole shield was of metal.

In regard to Shakespeare and North. I

never suggested that the analogy was an exact one. *Julius Caesar*, however, and *Coriolanus* are more to the point than *Troilus and Cressida*. In the former case Shakespeare clearly meant to give a picture of an historical situation, so far as he understood it. In the latter he felt himself almost as free as in his fairy tales; one might as well discuss whether the poets who gave us the *Odyssey* were anachronistic in their picture of the Cyclops. So far as analogy is of use at all, Shakespeare's Roman plays and the Book of Common Prayer are quite to the point. It was Mr. Lang, however, and not I, who appealed to analogy first. The real answer to this appeal is twofold. In the first place our data for testing Homeric anachronisms are still very slight; many of them may still escape our observation, for the simple reason that we do not know all that was worn, still less all that was thought, in the various centuries in question. That is partly why I mentioned the Book of Common Prayer. Does Mr. Lang believe that, apart from our knowledge of the history of the period, we could make out a convincing case that our Prayer Book, as we have it, shows in its phrasing stages of growth and conflicts between schools of thought? Would not Mr. Lang be using just the same language there as he does here, unless he happened to know the facts? Does the schoolboy, or the poet, or anyone else except those critics whom Mr. Lang distrusts, find a want of unity in the Psalms of David?

The other half of our answer is that the analogy from second-rate epics can never be valuable unless it be frankly recognised how second-rate they are. Mr. Lang's method is to point to the epics of other countries in whose composition evolution seems to have played a part, and to point out triumphantly that they are inferior to Homer. 'That is all that evolution can do!' is in effect what he says. The fact, however, that Homer is unique is really not our fault. It would be just as sensible to say that great dramas could not have been written in Latin, because Rome in fact produced none. The inability

of early Germany, or early France, or early India to produce a great epic is not to be put down to their sinful tendency to work by way of evolution. Unity can no more bring forward an analogy than evolution can. There is nothing in the world like the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The *Aeneid* and *Paradise Lost* are just as far removed from them on the one side as the *Nibelungenlied* and the *Chanson de Roland* are on the other. It is here that Shakespeare's Roman plays come in to help us; they are at least an example of first-class work produced by evolution. If Mr. Lang wishes to be saved from his friends, and to realise by the way the value of a poet's opinion on such a matter, let him study the severe and delightful words Sir Alfred Austin addresses to critics who suggest that Shakespeare used North in the particular way that he actually did. I do not apologise for quoting them at length. Indeed, in Mr. T. W. Allen's words, 'The sixth form masters of our larger public schools would do well to commit them to memory, and instead of teaching bad prose, dictate them in lengths to their charges' (*C.R.* xxi. p. 16).

'Though Shakespeare,' said our Poet Laureate,¹ 'may have taken his plots and the names of his personages from wherever he happened to find them, he could by no possibility have borrowed prose passages from anyone and made poetry of them by turning them into verse. Poetry is not made in that fashion. The white heat, the fine frenzy of the brain in the moment of such composition, precludes so cold a procedure. To suppose that the poet deliberately takes his material, his subject-matter from others, and then transforms it into poetry by the aid of what Prospero calls his "so potent art" is to commit the mistake so often made by critics with an insufficient amount of imagination.'

RONALD M. BURROWS.

University College, Cardiff.

¹ *Times*, Sept. 23, 1904, quoted by R. H. Carr, *Plutarch's Lives of Coriolanus*, etc. Clar. Press, Introduction, p. xviii.

REVIEWS

HAUVETTE'S *ARCHILOQUE*.

Archiloque, Sa Vie et ses Poésies. Par AMÉDÉE HAUVETTE, Professeur adjoint à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris. Paris: Albert Fontemoing, 1905. 8vo. Pp. x + 302. Fr. 7.50.

M. HAUVETTE is already well known as the author of an interesting and exhaustive work on *Hérodote, Historien des Guerres Médiques* (1894) besides several other works dealing with the constitutional history of Athens (*Les Stratèges Athéniens* 1885, *De Archonte Rege* 1885), and a *Rapport sur une mission scientifique en Grèce*, 1892. His last work is a fascinating study of the great Ionic poet whom the ancients regarded as second to Homer alone (*cf.* Velleius 1. 5, *Anth. Pal.* xi. 20). The author regards Archilochus not only as the inventor of the iambic metre, the creator of a new poetic *genre*, and the precursor of the Old Comedy, but also as one of the first representatives of the Ionic spirit and art that played such an important rôle in the formation of the Greek genius. In a few striking phrases of the Preface an illuminating parallel is drawn between Ionic literature and Ionic art.

The most important section in the book is that devoted to the new documentary evidence furnished by an inscription published a few years ago by Hiller von Gärtringen.¹ If there is any validity in Hauvette's arguments, then he has discovered what we may call a solid foundation of Parian marble to replace the shifting sands of Alexandrian guesses. He claims to have refuted a view regarded as self-evident by many modern critics, viz. that the ancients had no traditional data for a life of Archilochus. Owing to the importance of the issues involved it would be well to examine his theory with some detail. From the words of

the inscription H. infers that it dealt exclusively with the life and writings of the Parian poet. (1) The name of Archilochus occurs in the first line of the fragment, and again in the fifth. (2) He is referred to as the poet par excellence, ὁ ποιητής. (3) The style and tone suggest a memorial monument rather than a chronicle of general or local history. H. v. Gärtringen and Hauvette at first believed that it originally formed part of a heroön or sanctuary dedicated to Archilochus. This Hauvette identified with a building mentioned by the orator Alcidas (fourth century B.C.): it was probably rebuilt in the first century B.C., when a tablet was added containing a record of the poet's life.

This suggests an unbroken local tradition of many centuries, and it would therefore seem that there existed materials for a life of Archilochus resting upon a far sounder basis than the ingenious combinations and learned synchronisms of scholars poring over manuscripts in the bookrooms of Alexandria. The statements of the inscription would thus receive official sanction investing it with an authority far superior to the irresponsible eulogies of an individual admirer.

Hardly had Hauvette corrected the final proofs of his book than he received from H. von Gärtringen a communication announcing the discovery of another fragment of the inscription, which had lain for many years in the archives of the Berlin Academy. This new portion, discussed in an appendix, abundantly proves that the whole inscription is devoted to Archilochus; but it completely divests it of the authority that attaches to an official document. We now know that it had no connexion with a heroön, but was engraved on the base of a statue 'erected, perhaps, in a gymnasium.'

The new fragment includes an epigram informing the reader that Sostheus, son of Prostheneas, won for himself undying fame by setting up a statue of Telesicles' son.

¹ *Mittheil. d. Archäol. Instit. Athen.* Abtheil. xxv. 1900, pp. 1-22, and later as No. 445 *Inscr. Graec.* vol. xii. fasc. v., part 1, edited by H. v. G. and published by the Berlin Academy.

The inscriptions of Paros contain several references to a person of this name: he appears to have lived in the first century B.C.

It does not however follow that the biographical section of this *Monum. Arch.* was not originally included in a work of far wider scope than a mere life of Archilochus. Vv. 7-10 we read γέγραφεν δὲ ὁ Δημέας ἕκαστα [σαφή] ποιεῖν κ[α]ὶ γεγραμμένων ἐπὶ Ἀρχ[ι]-λόχου καὶ [ἄλλως (?) κατ' ἔτος (?) ἑ]καστον, καὶ ἦρκεται ἀπὸ ἄρχοντος πρῶτον Εὐρ[-, ἐφ' οὗ δι]-αίρει· πεντηκόντορος <ς> Μιλησίων κ.τ.λ. [I quote from the revision by H. v. G. in the *Inscr. Gr.*]

Although Demeas is mentioned in v. 1 there is no reason to suppose that the words εὐσ(ε)βήας καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν πα[τρίδα] σπονδῆς(?) are a quotation from his work: so Hauvette's argument (3) quoted above applies only to the memorial inscription. He has failed to prove that a hitherto unknown historian, Demeas of Paros, wrote about the middle of the fourth cent. B.C. a monograph on Archilochus from which the literary historians of Greece derived their information regarding the Parian poet. His theory is supported by the following arguments.

(1) The reference to Demeas is immediately followed by the story of Koiranos and the Dolphin. This, he says, proves that the work of Demeas was not a Parian chronicle in the sense of a λόγος or κτίσις Παρίων; otherwise the author would not have placed at the head of his book an incident in which Paros is assumed to be already a fully-developed state with magistrates and other officials. But what right have we to imagine that Demeas did begin with the extract used by the compiler of the inscription?

(2) Dates are given by Parian archons. But this does not prove that the author confined himself to Parian affairs. English historians date foreign events by the reigns of English kings, and we still hear that the Jubilee of Queen Victoria was celebrated when So-and-so was mayor of our native town.

(3) Starting from the assumption that Demeas dealt exclusively with Parian history, H. argues for an early date, on the ground that essays in local chronology preceded

those of general or national scope. But it does not follow that the former were discontinued because the latter had come into vogue.

(4) The most important argument still remains. A detailed comparison of the Koiranos legend as related by Phylarchus (ap. Athen. p. 606), Plutarch (*de Solert. anim.* § 36 Didot, p. 1205), and Aelian (*de natur. anim.* § 8. 3) led H. v. Gärtingen to the conclusion that these three writers used a common source which was itself derived from Demeas. No proof is given besides the following. (a) Plutarch in his account of the incident quotes a line from the poem composed upon it by Archilochus (fr. 114). As it is not likely that several writers covered exactly the same ground as Demeas, it follows that Demeas himself supplied tradition with the essential traits of the legend. (b) The version given by Demeas is simple; the others contain elaborate additions including 'a first and third act' intended to display the gratitude of the Dolphins for past favours. H. v. G. holds that the story received this new dress at the time of its insertion in a collection of anecdotes illustrating the intelligence of the brute creation.

Assuming that these changes demand a considerable interval between Phylarchus (fl. 220 B.C.) and Demeas, Hauvette has no hesitation in assigning the latter to the age of the Atthidographers (mid. fourth cent.). His sources go back to ὥροι Παρίων compiled by the logographers of the late sixth or early fifth cent.; and so we arrive almost within a hundred years of Archilochus himself.

This tempting theory will not bear examination. I have carefully compared the three versions with the corresponding passage in the inscription and have failed to discover any trace of interdependence, and I still remain a sceptic after reading the original article by H. v. G. (*Mittheil. l. c.*). The legend appears to have been an independent growth, and all the evidence points against any close connection between it and the poem of Archilochus. There is no quotation from the poet, nor is there a single reference to him in the versions of Phylarchus, Aelian, and Plutarch. It was by an afterthought after reaching the end of his story that

Plutarch added, 'and it is to this that Archilochus is said to refer when he composed the line. . .'. This proves that the legend, in its fuller form, was not associated with the name of Archilochus, and so it could not have been derived from an account of that poet's life by Demeas or anyone else. Nor did Plutarch derive the reference to Archilochus from Demeas, as the line which he quotes is not found in the inscription. This disposes of the early date claimed for Demeas. Hauvette recognizes the futility of any attempt to connect him with the compilation of the Attic 'Parian Chronicle.' We have no means of giving him even an approximate date; we can only say that his writings included a chronological account of Archilochus composed for local use and utilized by the compiler of a Parian inscription in the first century B.C.

Chapter i. 2 is devoted to the criticism of commonly accepted chronological data.

§ 1 opens with an attack upon what is usually taken as a fixed starting-point by the biographers of Archilochus (*e.g.* Beloch and Crusius). Arch. fr. 74 refers to a total eclipse of the sun at midday. Between the eclipse of 763 and that of 585 the only eclipse visible within the basin of the Aegean was that of 648 at Thasos. Therefore, it has been argued, the poet must have been at Thasos in 648. 'Voilà dit-on, un fait acquis à la science!' But, as H. points out, in the light of the remarks with which Arist. (*Rhet.* iii. 17) introduces the lines in question, there is no need to suppose that Archilochus saw the eclipse himself, or even that it occurred within his lifetime. He might be referring to an ancient tradition or to the eclipse seen E. of Rhodes in 657.

In § 2 H. with good reason follows most modern edd. of Herodotus in rejecting as interpolated a statement in Hdt. i. 12, which makes Archilochus a contemporary of Gyges. All we know is that the poet composed fr. 25 after the accession of the Lydian king.

§ 3 deals with the oft-quoted line *κλαίω τὰ Θασίων, οὐ τὰ Μαγνήτων κακά* (fr. 20). H. is not quite right in saying that Strabo (14. 647) refers this to the overthrow of Magnesia on the Maeander by the Cimmerian Treri; for the incident is mentioned in close connection

with the subsequent seizure of the town by the Milesians (MSS.: edd. *Ephesians*), and both events are clearly included in the 'disaster' alluded to a few lines later.

As H. shows, Aristotle, the earliest historian who refers to 'the woes of M.' makes no mention of the Cimmerians in this connection: *Μάγνητες δὲ ὑπερβολὴν ἀτυχημάτων πολλὰ ἐκακώθησαν καὶ πον καὶ Ἀρχιλόχῳ φησι, κλαίω κ.τ.λ.* (Ar. ap. Heracl.). Schneidewin explains *ἀτυχ.* as a euphemism for *ἀσεβήματα*, and this fits in with the interpretation of the proverb given by Suidas: *παρ' ὅσον οὗτοι ἀσεβήσαντες εἰς θεὸν πολλῶν κακῶν ἐπειράθησαν.*

Hauvette believes that the kings of Lydia also sent in their contribution to swell 'the woes of M.' We know that Gyges attacked Smyrna, Colophon, and Miletus; and his alliance with a powerful Ephesian family would naturally lead him to attack their hated rival on the Maeander. This view is confirmed by a couplet in Theognis, both of whose references to the sufferings of Magnesia Hauvette, strangely enough, has entirely ignored, although the Megarian poet lived within less than a century of Archilochus: cf. Th. 1103-4 *ἔβρις καὶ Μάγνητας ἀπόλεισε καὶ Κολοφῶνα | καὶ Σμύρνην.* (Cf. also Th. 603.) He rightly refuses to adopt Arch. fr. 20 as the basis of any precise chronological scheme. It is probable that the proverb applied to a *series* of 'disasters;' but it would give us little help even if it could be attached to one definite date; it would be as futile to argue that the fall of Magnesia was a matter of recent history when Archilochus composed the poem in question, as it is to deny the claim of Theognis to the lines just mentioned on the ground that they must refer to the *recent* ruin of Smyrna.

Hauvette places the floruit of Archilochus in 665 B.C. and assigns 688 as the beginning of the Thasian period when the poet was engaged in the wars. In 665 we find him at Paros; the poems of this epoch are full of bitter attacks on individual enemies of the writer; there is no trace of political animosity. The date of his death is unknown; there is no need to place it after that of Gyges in 652, or the destruction of Magnesia (651). Archilochus preceded Callinus.

The remaining chapters of the book are full of interest. Ch. ii. deals with the history of the Text; ch. iii. is entitled 'Idées et mœurs dans la Poésie d'Archiloque'; ch. iv. is devoted to a thorough discussion of dialect, vocabulary, and metre, followed by sections on composition, style, and the general position of Archilochus in the history and litera-

ture of Ionian Greece. M. Hauvette has made a notable contribution to the elucidation of a great poet, who has hitherto been treated with undeserved neglect.

T. HUDSON WILLIAMS.

*Univ. Coll.
Bangor.*

BRUNN'S *KLEINE SCHRIFTEN*.

Heinrich Brunn's Kleine Schriften. Gesam-melt von HERMANN BRUNN und HEINRICH BULLE. Erster Band: Römische Denkmäler; Altitalische und Etruskische Denkmäler. 1898. Zweiter Band: Zur Griechischen Kunstgeschichte. 1905. Dritter Band: Interpretation; Allgemeines. Nachtrag. 1906. Leipzig and Berlin: G. B. Teubner. M. 44.

IN the preface to his recent *Altgriechische Plastik*, Dr. Lehmann well says that 'up to the time of Brunn the last word in archaeology rested with the antiquary and not with the art connoisseur, while the literary tradition of the ancients gave the cue for the description and appreciation of the monuments. Archaeology was looked upon merely as a help to antiquarian research. From this degraded position H. Brunn, and after him Adolf Furtwängler and Julius Lange have raised it to the rank of a self-supporting science based upon itself.' What Percy Gardner and S. Reinach said of Newton in their obituary notices, that it was he who in England substituted archaeological science for dilettantism, is equally true of Brunn in Germany.

Brunn's scientific method was illuminated by rare powers of divination amounting to creative genius. Nowhere is this more evident than in his noble work on the Greek artists, where he evokes from the dry bones of tradition the individual spirit and the personal aims and tendencies that animated each artist. The same intellectual power vivifies all his writings, and invests them with an interest which proves abiding even

in cases where their archaeological content has been superseded. For this reason we cannot but be grateful to Brunn's son Hermann and to Dr. Heinrich Bulle, one of the younger archaeologists of the Munich school, for collecting together and editing with minute care all the scattered minor writings of the great master, though we may also be allowed to regret that a grouping according to subjects has been adopted instead of a chronological order of production which would have revealed the growth of Brunn's ideas, his ever-increasing intellectual grasp, and the gradual enlarging of his horizon till it enclosed the whole domain of classical archaeology. At this date, when the actual theories must, as the editors themselves admit, be looked upon in measure as outworn, there seemed every reason to present them not in primary relation to the subjects discussed, but as they would most faithfully mirror the writer's intellectual life. True, the chronological list of Brunn's writings printed at the end of the third volume, goes a good way towards remedying what seems the defect of the book, while the nature of the material dictates to a certain extent a chronological arrangement.

Brunn started, as did every one in his day, by a study of Rome and Etruria, so that the essays contained in the first volume represent, on the whole, his earlier activity. In the second and third volumes Brunn's attention, like that of his contemporaries, becomes concentrated on the recently-revealed art of Greece. Unlike the majority of his contemporaries, however, he never, in contemplating the achievement of Greece,

lost sight of the whole history of his subject, nor indulged in that exclusive and one-sided admiration from the effects of which the study of Hellenic art itself has been the first to suffer.

The notes contributed by the editors are of discreet length and to the point, and many fresh illustrations have been introduced. Readers already familiar with them will recognize with delight celebrated and epoch-making papers like those on the frieze of the Mausoleum, on the Parthenon marbles, on the Pergamene finds, and such masterpieces of critical method as the paper on the 'Munich athlete.' The study of vases owes as much to Brunn almost as that of sculpture, and this is evident from the third volume, where we find collected together many familiar essays, chiefly concerned with the interpretation of vase pictures.

Among the articles on various topics in Vol. III are a number of obituary notices of various eminent scholars that display Brunn's striking literary gifts and his intellectual sympathy for the work and effort of others. Last, but not least, the volume closes with a set of three articles on Raphael, thus leaving a brilliant impression of the

vast range of the writer's powers and interests.

The First Preface, contributed by Dr. Hermann Brunn, contains a charming record of Brunn's character, of his powers of concentrated work, of his joyous personality, and his delight in the varied phenomena of life and of nature; of the naïve wonder of friends and colleagues when the great scholar chose to spend long spells of time apparently unoccupied in simply looking out of the window. This leisure, this mental spaciousness, is one which the scholar needs almost as much as the creative artist, though it must have surprised the Germans of fifty years ago. We are told, also, that his lucid vigorous language was the result of a search on his part to build for each thought, so to speak, 'the precise house' that fitted it. 'It seems to me of the highest importance,' wrote Brunn himself, 'not only to contribute a given result to science, but to embody it in such a form that even should the result prove incorrect, yet a complexion of permanent value would be set upon the question.' The Second Preface, by Dr. Heinrich Bulle, is an interesting analysis of Brunn's scientific aims and methods. EUGÉNIE STRONG.

ANCIENT SCULPTURE AND PAINTING.

(a) *Brunn-Bruckmann's Denkmäler Griechischer und Römischer Sculptur, fortgeführt und mit erläuternden Texten versehen* von PAUL ARNDT. Plates 501-600. Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1902-1906.

(b) *Denkmäler der Malerei des Altertums*, herausgegeben von PAUL HERRMANN. Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1907. Each part M. 20.

(a) NOTHING illustrates more vividly the activity of the Munich School of Archaeology founded by Brunn than the continuation by Dr. Paul Arndt of Brunn's huge repertorium of antique sculpture. Dr. Arndt took up the editing at No. 501, and a few months ago brought his two first parts, each numbering 50 Plates, to a close. The publication, owing to its size, and also to its cost, is not so well known in England as it should be. Indeed,

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it is only recently that the British Museum has acquired a copy of this work. I propose to indicate briefly a few of the more remarkable items among these 100 Plates, each of which is accompanied by a short descriptive text either by Dr. Arndt himself or by distinguished collaborators, among whom appear the names of Furtwängler, Hauser, Amelung, and Sieveking.

A large proportion of the plates are of works now made known for the first time, or of works inadequately published and perhaps buried in inaccessible periodicals. The beautiful archaic Nike (headless) of the Akropolis (Kastriotis, Cat. 690) can be here compared with the fragment of another rather more archaic Nike in the same Museum (Kastriotis, 694) and with the fine bronze in the British Museum (Bronzes 491)

from the Payne-Knight collection. It is satisfactory, by the way, to find Arndt vindicating the Greek origin of the British Museum bronze. Of the sixteen archaic works of art among these new 'Denkmäler' the first in importance is assuredly the bronze chariot of Montelone now worthily published and brilliantly described by Professor Furtwängler. The bronze chariot, which once doubtless belonged to some Italic prince of the sixth century, is the great treasure of the Metropolitan Museum of New York. Furtwängler bestows no more than due praise when he calls it 'the largest and most perfectly preserved extant work in beaten metal of archaic Greek art' and reckons it among the finest and most exquisite specimens of its kind. The style is Ionic, but the actual chariot is brought by Furtwängler into file with the Italo-Ionic products, gold rings and vases, discussed in his work on gems (III. p. 86). The magnificent reliefs constitute a trilogy, including the arming of a warrior (centre), the warrior victorious over his enemy (left side) and his 'apotheosis,' in which he is seen borne upward by winged horses, that soar above the recumbent figure of Earth (Plates 586, 587).

Among the works of the fifth and fourth centuries from English collections alone, we may note specially a fine replica of the Munich Diomedes. This head, which I knew when it was acquired by Mr. C. Newton-Robinson, has passed, I believe, into the now famous collection at Lewes. The head of a Polykleitan athlete which has gone from the Nelson collection in Liverpool to America is given on Pl. 544. It had already been well published by Mr. Ernest Gardner in the *J.H.S.* The beautiful head, still touched with archaism, belonging to Mr. Humphry Ward appears on Pl. 581. The connexion I had established between this head and the Aphrodite of the Ludovisi throne is admitted by Arndt. Plate 582 reproduces the grand fragment of a fifth-century *stèle* in Lansdowne House, which figured in the Greek Exhibition at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1903 (Cat. No. 4 and Plate V). Then we find on Plates 569, 570 the large statuette of Herakles

(also at Lewes House, and likewise exhibited at the B. F. A. C., Cat. No. 12), with an interesting description by Arndt, who follows out the fortunes of this type right through Imperial times down to Diocletian and Maximian, and takes occasion, I notice with pleasure, to vindicate the genuinely archaic character of the Albano basis in the Capitol (Helbig 428) with the replica of one of its scenes in the British Museum (Cat. 2207, where the relation to the Albano basis is overlooked). The labours of Herakles are figured on the basis, which is itself only a copy, but a genuine one, and not a mere 'archaistic fake.' The Lewes statuette is a copy of a Myronian work, slightly later in date than the grand head of Herakles also in the British Museum, and also now reproduced (568).

On Pl. 557 is reproduced the fine replica of the head of the Munich 'Oil-pourer,' which passed from Greece, over England, to the Museum of Boston. The great Apollo from Cyrene in the British Museum, one of the finest antique copies after a great Greek original, is done justice to by Amelung in his descriptive text to the reproduction of the Aphrodite Gaetani (Plate 593). Both works belong to the same circle which further includes the 'Hypnos' of the British Museum and of Madrid, and the exquisite and too little known Dionysos (or Apollo) of Tralles (*Rev. Archéol.* 1888, Pl. 14). The Gaetani head, according to Amelung, is from a statuary type of which we have an inferior but complete replica in the 'Aphrodite of Capua.'

The statue of a young 'Priestess'—or as here interpreted a 'Poetess'—in the Villa Sarsina at Porto d'Anzio, lately acquired by the Italian government, and now placed in the Museo Nazionale delle Terme, is worthily reproduced on Plates 583, 584, and exhaustively discussed by Amelung, who is assuredly right in completely discarding, as Altmann in *Oesterr. Jahreshefte* (vi. 1903) had done before him, the Praxitelean theories advanced by Klein in respect of this head. He brings it down to Hellenistic times, which is a step in the right direction, but if he has so much difficulty in discovering works really akin to it, this may be because the statue belongs to a later date

still. I own, however, that while Dr. Altmann felt reminded by the Anzio statue of the 'Dionysos of Tralles,' I for my part seemed to detect a likeness to the Apollo from Cyrene. A valuable addition to our growing knowledge of Myron is made by the publication of the genuine cast of the Discobolus Lancellotti, so happily detected by Furtwängler in the Collection of Casts at the Louvre (567). No. 598 reproduces what must henceforth rank as one of the most beautiful of antique reliefs, even though it be only an excellent copy executed presumably as late as the period of Hadrian. It comprises the two charming reliefs with dancing Horai and dancing Agraulides which evidently once adorned the same monument. These reliefs were acutely put together by Dr. Hauser out of fragments dispersed in the Galleria Chiaramonti, in the Uffizi, and in Munich. His present fine aesthetic appreciation should be read along with the more technical description that accompanied his proposed restoration when he first published it in the Austrian *Jahreshefte* vi (1903).¹ He takes occasion to compare these newly reconstituted reliefs, which had been so maltreated in the Renaissance, with the kindred and better known—though vastly inferior—relief of the Borghese dancers in the Louvre which has lately attracted considerable attention because of the bronze imitation by a seventeenth or eighteenth-century hand² lately found in the Hertford House collection.

The publication is equally rich in works

¹ Nor should it be forgotten that in the earlier article Dr. Hauser made a tempting though, as he admits, by no means proven suggestion to the effect that the originals of the reliefs of similar style in Tegel with the three Moirai, and with a Zeus and Hephaistos (from a 'Nativity of Athena') may have belonged to the same monument which he further surmises to have been the basis of the Altar of Zeus Soter, at the Peiraeus, noted both by Pliny and by Pausanias.

² The early date, proposed by Mr. Claude Phillips (*Burlington Magazine*, 1904, pp. 111-124) for this bronze must be abandoned, in the light of the arguments adduced by Dr. Bode (*Burlington Magazine*, 1904 (March), p. 215) and by M. Étienne Michon in *Monuments Piot* xii., 1905, pp. 159-176. M. Michon, however, favours the Louis XIV. period rather than that of Louis XVI. proposed by Dr. Bode.

of Roman sculpture—the beautiful relief of the Aktian Apollo (Pl. 595; text by Sieveking) of which I give a much reduced reproduction in my *Roman Sculpture* (Pl. VII) is an important addition to our knowledge of earlier Augustan art. The basis of Puteoli, not so contemptible a work of art as hitherto represented, is given on Pl. 575 with commentary by Sieveking. Finally a number of sculptures from the Arch of Constantine are admirably reproduced; these include the eight medallions claimed by Mr. Stuart Jones as Flavian in the *Papers of the British School at Rome* (vol. iii). I have elsewhere (*Roman Sculpture*, pp. 131-141) analysed this paper and shewn how Arndt's remarks as to the probable vicissitudes of these medallions in the Third Century A.D. formed the starting-point for Mr. Stuart Jones' brilliant researches. It is a pity that Arndt limits himself to reproducing the two slabs of the central archway and that neither Bruckmann nor any professional photographer has yet attempted to photograph the panels of the East and West attics. One remark of capital importance Arndt makes concerning the slabs of the archway: it is that the head of the Emperor has in both cases been worked up into a likeness of Constantine.

(b) The same firm that publishes the *Denkmäler* has started, under the able editorship of Dr. Paul Herrmann of Dresden, a publication of antique paintings (including mosaics) which promises to rank for importance and interest with their great sculpture serial. The first sixteen specimens are all Pompeian pictures, but it is promised that the scanty fragments of real Greek painting and the Cretan painting of Phaistos and Knossos will be fully represented. The two first folios do not belie the program unfolded in the carefully written *prospectus*. They include such masterpieces of the ancient *pictura* as the 'Medea' from Herculaneum (Pl. 7), the pastoral landscape 'Paris on Ida' (Pl. 8), the superb mosaic of the 'Lion and Panther' from Pompei (Pl. 9), and the 'Punishment of Eros,' which can now be studied with its companion picture 'Ares and Aphrodite' from the same house, and presumably by the same hand (Pls. 1, 2).

Hitherto Pompeian pictures have been studied mainly according to the classification by subjects in Helbig's *Campanische Malerei*. It is an immense step in advance to be able to study them grouped as much as possible according to the houses to which they belonged, for this grouping often represents the work of one artist or of one school. Thus Plates 10-16 reproduce seven magnificent paintings from that most in-

teresting of all Pompeian houses, the *Casa del Poeta Tragico*. The style of the reproductions and the critical text that accompanies them are equally beyond praise. But so valuable a publication ought to circulate widely outside Germany; we cannot, therefore, help regretting that the text is not issued in French or English as well as in German.

E. S.

ARCHITECTURE.

Die bildende Kunst der Gegenwart. By JOSEF STRZYGOWSKI. Quelle und Meyer: Leipzig, 1907. 300 pp. und 68 illustrations. M. 4.80.

THIS unpretentious little volume carries as sub-title 'ein Büchlein für Jedermann,' and may thus presumably be brought to the notice of readers of the 'Classical Review' also. It shows that in the hands of an exponent like Strzygowski the comparative method of criticism, based on a study of the art of the civilized world, issues not in dry-as-dust 'Grecian rules' but in living suggestions that can help artists and architects to discover forms suited to the needs of their time. The section 'Baukunst,' with its subdivisions, 'Monumentaler Raumbau,' 'Denkmalbau,' 'Privatbau,' seems calculated to satisfy those who ask what useful purpose in the present can be served by a study of the antique.

Classical archaeologists will find the book interspersed with admirable little pieces of criticism of antique works—e.g., of the Theseus of the Parthenon and of the composition apparently so simple, yet in reality so difficult, of the two figures on the stele of Hegeso. In comparisons like that established between the 'Penseur' of Rodin or the 'Drama' of Klinger and the sitting figures of the 'Ludovisi Throne,' and in the excellent passages on the divergent functions of the antique and of modern art (see especially pp. 246-248), Strzygowski, without praising the one art at the expense of the

other, seizes and reveals the inner essence of each. The book teems with profound passages which show that the author has grasped not only problems of form, but also the problems of thought which govern any art worthy of the name. Indeed, the secret of Strzygowski's greatness as a critic is in his insistence upon the necessity for *Inhalt*, for substance and content in art. Two of the noblest sections in the present book are those respectively entitled 'Missachtung des Gegenstandes' and 'Malerei für Feinschmecker,' in which he denounces certain tendencies of modern art with the fearlessness of a prophet.

The examples of modern art are of necessity drawn in great measure from Germany, and Strzygowski shows himself no timid critic of the contemporary art of his adopted country, though he is full of healthy optimism for the future and of admiration of much that is done in the present, not only on the Continent, but also in England and in America. I think, however, that few outside Germany will follow him the whole length of his admiration for Böcklin, 'under whose flag' he admits the book to have been written. On the other hand many will sympathize with the fearless attack on the Imperial tastes that govern, or tried to govern, the arts in Prussia. Those interested in the teaching of art in schools and universities will find stimulating pages in the *Intermezzo* on 'Künstlerische Erziehung.' It should be noted that the little book, qualified by its author as an occasional writing, is

the outcome of a series of lectures on 'the method of looking at art' delivered by Strzygowski in 1905, at Innsbruck, as part of a summer course to teachers. The subject is one that sorely needs introducing into England.

We cannot too earnestly insist on Strzygowski's warning (pp. 141, 142), that if children and young students are to profit by all the modern paraphernalia of cheap reproductions and illustrated school-books, there must be trained teachers to guide them. 'In all our efforts we think only of the pupils. I am strongly of opinion, however, that it is high time to recollect that teachers, if they are to impart information, should

first have had the advantage of similar instruction themselves.'—At a time, moreover, when our own great national collection of antiques is being re-labelled, as if the function of each object were to illustrate Lemprière's mythology, it would be well to ponder Strzygowski's advice as to the way to use museums.

In closing the book we recall with admiration that these living pages emanate from a scholar foremost in the ranks both of Oriental and of Classical archaeologists, though he won his earliest laurels as a *Kunsthistoriker*, in the narrower sense, with studies on the Italian Renaissance, ranging from Cimabue to the 'Baroque.' E. S.

FRIEDLAENDER'S *PETRONIUS*: ED. 2.

Petronii Cena Trimalchionis, mit deutscher Übersetzung und erklärenden Anmerkungen.

Von L. FRIEDLAENDER. 2. Aufl. Leipzig: Hirzel, 1906. 8vo. Pp. 362. M. 6, bound M. 7.

THE second edition of Friedlaender's *Cena Trimalchionis* follows quickly upon the fourth of Bücheler's *Petronius*. The author has kept a vigilant eye upon all that has appeared bearing on Petronius in the fifteen years that have elapsed since the issue of the first edition. Collignon's books, Heräus' articles, Götz's *Corpus Glossariorum latinorum*, and communications from C. F. W. Müller are largely responsible for the changes that the book has now undergone.

The plan, indeed, remains unaltered—introductions, dealing with literary questions and city life in Italy; text and critical notes, with translation on the opposite page; explanatory notes. But the introductions have been remodelled, the text improved, and some twenty-five pages added to the explanatory notes. Hardly a page, indeed, in this part of the book but bears the trace of the revising hand.

In the literary introduction the question of Petronius' relations to the Greek novelists, curiously ignored in the first edition but

brought into prominence by Burger's and Heinze's articles in *Hermes*, now receives treatment. F. thinks it unnecessary to assume the existence of Greek models and scouts Heinze's theory that the satirae were a parody of a serious Greek Romance. He might have referred to Schmid's interesting remarks, *Neue Jahrbücher*, 1904, p. 475. On another vexed question, that as to the scene in which the drama of the Banquet is laid, F. has changed his position. Formerly he accepted Mommsen's view that it was Cumae. There was not much evidence in favour of that view, and against it was one very definite fact. At the banquet Trimalchio happens to remark that he had seen the Sibyl at Cumae. Anyone who feels sure that a Canterbury resident, giving a dinner in that city, would not use the phrase 'the Cathedral at Canterbury' must do one of two things in dealing with the passage of Petronius. In 1891 the bracketing of the obnoxious *Cumis* was the obvious resource: in 1906 we assume that Trimalchio's banquet was not given in Cumae. And Dr. Friedlaender accepts the very plausible suggestion that Puteoli was the town in question. I must say the episode of the Egyptian skeleton in ch. 34 has always prejudiced me in favour of the city which the Alexandrian cornships frequented. The

influence of foreign sailors on seaports is no doubt considerable: I know one little Devonshire port where the lower classes use an opprobrious phrase of unmistakeably French origin. An account of Puteoli itself forms the subject of a new section, about three pages in length. The chapter on city life remains unaltered.

The following list of noteworthy changes in the text may be found useful. Chap. 27 *circulis ludentium* (Heins.), 35 *odlopectam* (Büch.⁴), 38 *subalapo* (Heräus), 46 *qui potes loquere, non loquis* (Büch.⁴), 47 *ne* (Her., Büch.⁴), 55 *quo margarita cara, tribacia Indica* (partly a return to the MSS., partly from Heräus), 58 *conieci* (Büch.⁴), *at nunc* (Her.), 59 *aeque cor non habebas* (Heins.), 60 *consurreximus et altius* (Ohlert), 62 *homo meus coepit ad stelas facere se, eo ego* etc. (Müller), 64 *ut suis se teneant, dum redimus* (Büch.⁴), *oppositaque* (Funck, with the Trau MS.), 73 *exsonabant* (Büch.⁴; *exonabant* the Trau MS.), *in solio* (Scheffer; *in solo* the Trau MS.), 77 *cenationem* (Scheffer). There are a few misprints in the apparatus: on p. 102 the note on l. 21 is out of place, on p. 128 l. 17 the reading of the MS. is not stated, on p. 132 l. 7 the name of *Tilebomenus* is printed in Roman type, so that he appears as part of an emendation of Bücheler's. On p. 202 most of what stands in the note to l. 8 really belongs to l. 10. The apparatus might be abridged with advantage: it is hardly necessary to record all the emendations which a scholar has at various times hazarded on a crucial passage. Not but what there is instruction to be derived from such a note as stands on p. 160: '*hic refecit* Büch.^{3,4}, . . . *liquefecit?* Büch.², . . . *minorem fecit?* Büch.³, . . . *hinc reiecit?* Büch.'

As for the translation, except so far as change of reading ruled otherwise, it has been left as it was. Some slight inaccuracies, which I had marked in my copy of ed. 1, have now been corrected. In ch. 58 *qui te natum non putat*, 62 *sedeo-numero*, 66 *et rapam et senape* were omitted, and are now duly rendered. There still remain two: ch. 32 *anulum grandem subauratum* 'einen kleinen etwas vergoldeten Ring,' and ch. 72, where the words *ait ille* are ignored, so that the whole passage *quid cogitas—exeamus* is as-

signed to Encolpius. The translation of *plane etiam hoc servus tuus indicare potest* ch. 41 runs as before: 'Auch dies kann dein gehorsamster Diener dir berichten.' The speaker is one of Encolpius' fellow-guests, and I have always supposed that he meant 'Why your slave Giton there could tell you that.' I admit that the position of *etiam* is against my rendering, but what becomes of *plane* with Friedlaender? To say nothing of the extraordinary meaning given by him to *servus tuus*, 'your humble servant,' a meaning which he bases on the analogy of the use of *dominus* in polite address, but which he admits he has found nowhere else.

That the notes have been thoroughly revised has been already mentioned. Colloquial Latin is still more fully treated than before—the glosses are of much use here—and proverbs and folklore, etc. freely illustrated, especially from the Neapolitan. Several notes are greatly improved by being rewritten. I may perhaps enable readers to get some idea of the changes introduced by pointing to the addenda to the notes on ch. 29 *parietem persequi*, 35 *laruam argenteam*, 37 *nummorum nummos*, 39 *in cancro natus*, 41 *matus*, 53 *baro*, 56 *canale*, 64 *bucca, bucca, &c.*; the corrections of old notes on 38 *sociorum olla male feruet* (but does 'Too many cooks spoil the broth' suit the context?), 46 *non es nostrae fasciae*, 77 *tu dominam tuam &c.*; and the new notes on 38 *illi*, 40 *sophos clamamus*, 43 *annos secum tulisse*, 47 *nenias*, 58 *licet mehercules*, and on most of the new readings mentioned above.

This brief description of the book will, I trust, make it clear to all admirers of Petronius that a place must be found for it in their libraries. In conclusion I cannot but express my regret that no fresh light is thrown on two notorious *cruces*. The note on *pica puluinaris* is simply reprinted, with its plaintive 'Was eine "Ackerbeetelster" sein soll (Georges s. puluinaris) weiss ich nicht.' If Dr. Friedlaender has not yet solved the mystery of a word evidently familiar to a contemporary and a fellow-countryman, we ought to congratulate ourselves that we can interpret so much as we can of Petronius. The other problem is *mulier quae mulier miluinum genus*. Dr. Friedlaender has added

a few words to his note on the passage, but they seem to refer rather to the corresponding Varro passage than Petronius. Is it not simplest to translate 'A woman that is a real woman is bound to have some of the kite about her,' 'woman thy name is selfishness'?

A woman that was not selfish would be a *monstrum*, not a mulier. Compare the well-known Petronian phrases *discordia, non homo; piper, non homo; codex, non mulier*.

WALTER C. SUMMERS.

Sheffield.

THEODORE OF STUDIUM.

Theodore of Studium: His Life and Times.

By ALICE GARDNER, Lecturer and Associate of Newnham College, Cambridge; Author of *Julian the Philosopher*, *Studies in John the Scot*, etc. London: Edward Arnold, 1905. 8vo. Pp. xii + 284. Eight illustrations, chiefly of Byzantine architecture of the sixth and seventh centuries; one facsimile of a page from Studite Psalter of the eleventh century. 10s. 6d. net.

THIS remarkable work, the production of a well-known lady-lecturer at Newnham College, has scarcely yet received the share of attention from classical scholars to which it is entitled. Doubtless this is due to the fact that the figure of Theodore Studites is chiefly interesting to students of Ecclesiastical history; and those who are not concerned with the story of the Byzantine Church in a somewhat dreary epoch of its existence may be disposed to rest content with such knowledge of Theodore's career as they can derive from the unsympathetic pages of Gibbon.

Of course the Iconoclastic controversy is and must always remain the staple of any life of Theodore. It was this which brought him into collision with Byzantine autocracy, which earned for him three banishments, seven scourgings and harsh imprisonments: this also which, when the cause in whose behalf he had suffered became triumphant, secured for him an honourable place in the Diptychs of the Eastern Church, which to this day on the First Sunday in Lent reads out his name at a solemn service, the people answering with threefold murmur of applause 'May his memory endure for ever.'

But, as Miss Gardner has well shown us in this admirable monograph, Theodore of Studium was not merely an ecclesiastical controversialist. He sprang from a family of high official rank: he was an efficient administrator of a convent as celebrated in the East as Cluny in the West, he was a poet, a copious letter-writer, and probably a sharer in that important palaeographic reform which by substituting the Minuscule for the Uncial script greatly facilitated the multiplication of manuscripts.¹

And moreover the time in which he lived, the last half of the eighth century and the first quarter of the ninth, was of such immense importance for the whole subsequent history of Europe that even at the cost of a few tedious discussions about the worship or the destruction of sacred images, it is well worth while to see—as we can in Miss Gardner's graphic pages—what that time looked like to one of the foremost actors on the stage.

Theodore was born in 759, when the strong, fleshly, Isaurian Emperor, Constantine Copronymus, had been eighteen years on the throne. He suffered his first exile, along with his uncle and spiritual father the Abbot Plato, when the grandson of Copronymus, Constantine VI, divorcing his wife and marrying his mistress, brought himself into collision with the more respectable and independent personages in the Church of

¹ The reader who may be interested in this side of Theodore's work and who may not have leisure to follow him throughout his ecclesiastical career is specially referred to Miss Gardner's most interesting chapter on 'Theodore's Place in Calligraphy and Hymnography' (pp. 230-244) and to the Appendix following it, which contains renderings into English of some of Theodore's poems.

Constantinople, of whom Theodore, now abbot of Studium, was one of the chief.

He owed his return from exile (in 797) to that hateful deed by which Irene, mother of Constantine VI, usurped the throne of her son, handing him over to the torturers to be blinded by them in that same purple chamber in which she had given him birth. With Irene came back the sacred *icons* as well as their advocate Theodore. Happily the restored exile has not disgraced himself by any word of express approval of this crime, though his biographer honestly confesses to her 'regret that she can find in his writings no word to condemn the iniquitous acts which brought about his restoration.'

One of the most important elements in these palace tragedies was their effect in determining the permanent relations of what were to be henceforward the Eastern and Western Empires. There can be little doubt that Irene's tragic usurpation of the Imperial seat of the Roman Caesars was one cause of the assumption by Charles the Great of the title of Augustus on Christmas day 800. Some years before that event, long but in the end fruitless negotiations had taken place between the Frankish and Byzantine courts, respecting the marriage of the ill-fated Constantine VI to Charles's daughter Hrothrud. After the same event a stranger web of negotiations was being woven for the marriage of the elderly Emperor and Empress, Charles and Irene; but this marvellous scheme was defeated by the dethronement of the Eastern Augusta.

Miss Gardner has some excellent remarks on the possible results to Europe, if Irene in the early days of her regency, before she had soiled her hands with crime, had honestly sought to unite her policy, civil and ecclesiastical, with that of the mighty king of the Franks and Lombards.

'If a Council could have been called oecumenic or universal in reality as in profession, and if this Council had sought not only to assert the same standard of faith and ritual for East and West, but also to adjust the rival claims of patriarchal powers, and particularly to establish a *modus vivendi* with the Papacy in Rome, and if at the same time the Imperial Court at Byzantium

had drawn nearer to the other great Court of Christendom, that of the Frankish champions of Papal power, then we may fairly say that the unity of Christendom would have been assured in ways passing the dreams of the most visionary catholics and cosmopolitans; Charles the Great would never have been crowned in Rome; the Crusades would not have failed for want of unity and a policy in militant Christendom; Greece would have continued to dominate the barbarian world; and there would have been no Renaissance needed, for there would have been no death or trance of ancient culture. . . . It seems hardly too much to say, that if Theodore of Studium had been ten years older at this time, in which case he would doubtless have taken a leading part in what was done, the cause of unity, at least in the ecclesiastical sphere, might have triumphed . . . and if ecclesiastical unity had prevailed in East and West, imperial unity would have had a larger and more rigorous life; there would have been no Holy Roman Empire as a separate and Western institution, and the whole course of European progress would have taken a different direction.'

With the downfall of Irene and the accession of the Logothete, Nicephorus, came before long the second exile of Theodore, not however this time on the main question of image-worship, but because of his refusal to communicate with the Ecclesiastic who had solemnized the adulterous marriage of Constantine VI. He was not banished to a distance, only, it would seem, to the Island of Prinkipo in the Sea of Marmora, but his beloved monastery of Studium was broken up and its inmates scattered far and wide.

Then came the tragedy of the unsuccessful campaign of the Greek Emperor against the Bulgarians (how strangely modern these words sound, in connexion with recent events!), his death in battle, and the accession of one whom Miss Gardner well styles a *Pfaffen-kaiser*, Michael Rhangabe. This turn of the wheel brought brighter days for Studium and incidentally the fullest recognition that for many years any Eastern Emperor granted to the Imperial dignity of the Frankish sovereign. But Theodore's

restoration was not for long. The *Pfaffen-kaiser* in two or three years' time had to give away to a more successful soldier, Leo the Armenian; and he, like most of the soldier-emperors at this time, was an Iconoclast. In defiance of the Imperial decrees, Theodore caused the prohibited icons to be borne on Palm Sunday in solemn procession round his monastery and of course in due time received an order for banishment from the neighbourhood of Constantinople. This third exile, which lasted for six years, from 815 to 821, was the longest of all his captivities. He was scourged, as gently as the executioners dared to wield the lash, and was for part of the time kept in pretty close confinement at Smyrna, not so close however as to prevent his conducting a voluminous correspondence with his dispersed monks, with influential courtiers at Constantinople, and with Pope Paschal I., whom he adjured to stretch forth his hand to convene a council to relieve the orthodox church from the tyranny of the Iconoclasts.

It was not however from the Roman pontiff that Theodore's deliverance was to come, but from another of the often-recurring palace conspiracies, by which Leo the Armenian while lustily singing psalms in the Imperial chapel on a dark Christmas morning was struck down by a band of assassins, who drew his rival, the condemned Michael, out of his dungeon and placed him on the throne.

Thus for the last time was Theodore of Studium free, but he hardly regained his

old influence, nor lived to witness the eventual and complete triumph of his cherished icons. He died in 826 in the sixty-eighth year of his age and his body, at first buried in the Island of Prinkipo, was eighteen years later, at the end of the Iconoclastic controversy, transferred to his beloved Studium, and there laid side by side with that of his uncle and brother, who had fought on his side in the great controversy.

Of the merits of that controversy this is not the place to speak. We may confess that while condemning the fierce brutality of most of the Iconoclast Emperors we cannot follow the author in her defence of the theological soundness of Iconodulia. Neither to break nor to worship a statue of Jupiter Olympius or a majestic mosaic of Christ seems to be our fitting attitude in the twentieth century, and possibly it would have been the right attitude in the ninth century also. But be this as it may, there is no doubt that the man whose life is here unfolded before us was one of the noblest figures in Byzantine history—not too fruitful in noble characters—that he acted from sincere and earnest convictions and that in setting himself against that unholy mixture of temporal and spiritual power which has been of late known by the name of Cesaro-papism he deserved well of his country, and however we may differ from his special line of argument, was really serving the great cause of the freedom of human thought.

THOMAS HODGKIN.

A COLLECTION OF GREEK COINS.

Die griechischen Münzen der Sammlung Warren. By KURT REGLING. Berlin: G. Reimer, 1906. Text and Plates. M. 40.

THIS excellent Catalogue describes a collection of 1769 coins of the Greek series till lately in the possession of Mr. E. P. Warren of Lewes. Some collectors and numismatists whose memories carry them back some way will note as they glance at the plates a fine array of electrum pieces and other rare coins

which they will recognize as old friends. The Warren Collection, in fact, enshrines the well-known cabinet (1016 specimens) of the Rev. W. Greenwell, and I notice many coins which were long ago shown at the British Museum at critical moments just before, or just after, they had come into Mr. Greenwell's possession and which, I remember, were discussed from every conceivable point of view by the collector and the Museum officials. In or before 1902 Mr.

Greenwell decided to dispose of his fine collection. I believe no formal offer of it was ever made to the authorities of our national Museum, and English archaeologists will regret this. At the same time, Mr. Warren is to be congratulated on having saved this carefully formed 'assemblage' from dispersion by auction and thus enabling it to be finally acquired—together with many additions made by himself—by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, where it will, no doubt, do much to foster a taste for ancient art and the scientific study of an important branch of archaeology.

Mr. Greenwell was especially interested in electrum coinage, chiefly the coinage of Cyzicus. He acquired, when such things were just beginning to come into the market, a number of fine specimens of the gold staters of Lampsacus, a series in many respects akin to the Cyzicenes. He had a predilection also for the coins of two or three important cities, notably Abdera and Cyrene, and—what is not exceptional—for Sicilian coins. Mr. Warren appears to have usefully extended the collection on the lines laid down by Mr. Greenwell, but has added coins of many other classes. The collection as a whole, except for the series which Mr. Greenwell specially collected, is not so interesting to students as a collection like that of the late Sir Edward Bunbury, or the collection of Sir Hermann Weber, whose zeal and catholic tastes time does not abate. Both these collections contain or contained a number of interesting pieces in bronze—a humble but instructive metal which Mr. Greenwell and Mr. Warren seem rather to have disdained, though one understands their point of view as collectors. Some sections of the Warren Collection are, therefore, disappointing to numismatists. There is a heading 'Cappadocia,' but the coinage described consists only of a couple of regal drachms. The Seleucid and Ptolemaic series are scanty. There is one coin of Sidon; there are two of Tyre.

In arranging for the publication of his catalogue, Mr. Warren has been so fortunate as to secure the services of a member of the Berlin coin-cabinet, Dr. Regling, whose learned numismatic researches are familiar

to archaeologists. The book is handsomely printed, and the quarto *format* recalls that of the Berlin "Corpus numorum." It is not quite so easy to hold as the smaller volumes of the Berlin and British Museum Catalogues, but numismatic books hardly belong to the handy 'fireside' literature beloved of Dr. Johnson. Certainly, it gives a larger and more serviceable page than the octavo size, and the plan of noting the Plate-references in the margin—first adopted, I think, in M. Svoronos's 'Crete'—is one deserving of imitation. Personally, also (after many laborious years spent in turning from text to plates placed somewhere at the end), I much approve of Dr. Regling's method of presenting the Plates—there is here a liberal supply of 37—apart from the text. They are far more convenient for reference in this way, and, being bound together, cannot go astray.

As might be expected, Dr. Regling has carried out his task in a most workmanlike way. His descriptions of types are careful and judicious, though I think that in the case of Rhegium he has too hastily deposed 'Demos,' and set up Aristaeos, whose claim is not supported by any decisive evidence. All through, sufficient references to the literature and chronology are added, and notice is even taken of the identities of dies, a branch of numismatic activity which easy-going collectors have now to reckon with. There are also many useful notes which are well worthy of the attention of numismatists. Among them may be mentioned those dealing with the chronology of the coins of Elis (p. 143); the dating of the earliest 'owl-coins' of Athens, which Dr. Regling assigns to the time of Pisistratus (*circa* B.C. 560); symbols punning on names (p. 75); coins on which animals are shown curiously branded, like the ox of Poseidonia which is stamped with a caduceus. For the *selinon* type of the well-known Sicilian city, we have not only a reference to Holm but to 'The *Athenaeum*, 1901, II. p. 61,' a reference which I have not yet conscientiously verified but which I think must refer to the late Mr. Samuel Butler's attempt to grow the Selinuntine plant in a London square.

WARWICK WROTH.

SHORT NOTICES

INCUBATION.

Incubation, or the Cure of Disease in Pagan Temples and Christian Churches. By MARY HAMILTON, M.A., Carnegie Research Scholar. Simpkin, Marshall and Co. Pp. vi + 228. 5s. net.

INCUBATION is so important in ancient religion and medicine, and it has left traces so remarkable in the modern world, that a monograph on the subject is welcome. I have myself called attention to this matter, and described the scenes observed in certain holy places of modern Greece (*Greek Votive Offerings*, 200ff.): this notice seems to have escaped Miss Hamilton, but it is desirable to have as many independent observations as possible.

Her first part describes the practices in Epidauros, Rome and Lebene, at the oracles of Amphiaraus, Trophonios, and Dionysos, and in the cults of Isis and Serapis: she adds a useful analysis of the case of Aelius Aristides, whose morbid visions are full of light for the question. This section is done with a fair degree of success; but in such a monograph we expect a complete collection of the important inscriptions, the text at least, with or without translation, and a mustering of authorities. Here Miss Hamilton has been content with a small selection, and she has not exhausted the authorities. I do not think she is right in ascribing incubation to the Selloi mentioned by Homer (alluded to without reference on p. 7). Much of the section is scrappy, and there is a lack of thoroughness and exactness. Aristophanes' description of incubation, for example, is placed under Epidauros.

The second part, Incubation in Christian Churches during the Middle Ages, breaks almost new ground. She has searched the *Acta Sanctorum* and records of saintly miracles, and has collected a considerable amount of illustration of the ancient practice. In the third part Miss Hamilton deals with instances of incubation seen or recorded in Italy and Greece. The festival at Tinos is described in detail, and a summary account is given of a large number of other shrines in the Greek lands.

The book is a useful piece of work and deserves the study of those who would understand the life of the ancient world.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

Charakteristik der lateinischen Sprache. Von Gymnasial-Professor DR. F. OSKAR WEISE. Dritte Auflage. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1905. Small 8vo. Pp. vi + 190. M. 2.80.

THIS charming little book, which has now reached its third edition in German, and has also been translated into French and Modern Greek, contains a general review of the Latin language from the standpoint of content and style. The author treats this language, as in a companion volume he treats his mother tongue, as a thing of beauty and interest in itself, and also as an index to the same qualities in the people who created and used it. Many of his suggestions may seem fanciful or overdrawn, but all of them are at least worthy of consideration. In the archaic period he attributes to the Romans strong family affections and a taste for pork on the ground of the large vocabulary connected with these subjects: on similar grounds he considers that love was with them a matter of intelligence rather than of feeling. He traces a clownish temperament in the naming of individuals after personal defects, e.g. Strabo, Pactus. A strong sense of discipline is, he thinks, shown in the extended use of subordinate clauses. The boundless magnificence of the new empire finds a parallel in the length of Livy's periods: the degeneracy of the first century of the Christian epoch is marked by the fantastic style of the early silver age of literature. In these judgments it is probable that prejudice plays a part; but if we are too severe on this point we shall probably need to abandon aesthetic criticism altogether. The author does justice to the extremeness of the style of Cicero and Caesar, and the notes almost constitute a bibliography of works on the Latin language in general and on the style of the most important Latin authors.

EDWARD V. ARNOLD.

Der Enoplios. Ein Beitrag zur griechischen Metrik. Von DR. PHIL. E. HERKENRATH. Teubner, 1906. Pp. ix + 185. M. 6.

NOT the least among the many services rendered by Blass to classical scholarship was his demonstration of the true nature of what used to be absurdly called 'dactylo-epitritic' verse. It is a sign of the sanity of his judgment that he knew the limits of his knowledge; 'utinam aliquando dicere possimus de enopliis numeris: σφῶραν ἐξέβαλεν προκόπτας!' (*Praef. ad Bacchyl.* xxxv). Dr. Herkenrath alas has no such misgivings; he not only knows an enoplios when he sees it but he sees it everywhere. For instance the Telesilleion, — — — — —, is a form of enoplios, and the Alcaic hendecasyllable is composed of a diambus plus a Telesilleion. Therefore the Alcaic is an enoplian metre.

It is quite evident that Dr. Herkenrath knows this, but *how* does he know it? Perhaps he may say that something of the sort is to be found in Hephaestion xiv. But if we are to accept the authority of Hephaestion, there is an end of Dr. Herkenrath, for Hephaestion calls 'Ερασμονίδη Χαρίλαε (which Dr. Herkenrath, following Wilamowitz, knows to be an enoplios), a hephthemimeral anapaest. Again our two modern authorities call 'Ερασμονίδη Βάθυλλε another form of enoplios, but Hephaestion declares positively that Cratinus, when he parodied 'Ερασμονίδη Χαρίλαε by 'Ερασμονίδη Βάθυλλε, mistook the metre.

Such is the nature of the evidence, and it seems too sandy to bear much of a superstructure. The author's textual criticism does not inspire confidence either. For instance at Soph. *Phil.* 679, he positively reads 'Ἰσίορα κατ' αἰπυκα δὴ δρομάδα, making it respond to παρ' αἰ στόνον ἀντιτύπων βαρύ-, in order that we may have yet another variety of the inexhaustible enoplios. I do not understand the condition of a mind which swallows such a metrical camel and yet has so little faith in the MSS. that it assails the natural and simple phrase στόνον ἀντίτυπον, a phrase which recurs again at 1460 of the very same play.

By proceeding in this arbitrary fashion one can do anything with Greek metres. One ancient school derived every variety of metre from the epic hexameter and the iambic trimeter; a little ingenuity will enable anybody who likes to derive everything from ithyphallics and anapaests. It is a pity to see such a quantity of labour wasted in such frivolities. One reads again Blass's half-dozen modest and masterly pages and sighs for a little of his caution and sobriety.

ARTHUR PLATT.

Procli Diadochi in Platonis Timaeum Commentaria.

Edidit ERNESTUS DIEHL. Vol. III. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1906. 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. xiv + 504. M. 12.

HERR DIEHL is to be congratulated upon having completed his handy edition of Proclus 'in Timaeum.' The work is done with the care and thoroughness usual in editors of Teubner texts; and students of Neo-Platonism owe a debt of gratitude to both editor and publisher for having provided them with a text at once more convenient and more up-to-date than the Schneider edition of 1847. This, being the concluding volume, contains the Indexes to the whole work—viz. an 'Index Auctorum,' an 'Index Verborum,' and an 'Indiculus observationum grammaticarum'—together with a list of 'addenda et corrigenda' which, considering the extent of the work, is by no means unduly long. This third volume includes pp. 238 c-end, in which Proclus comments on *Timaeus* 37 c-44 d. The text depends mainly on two Paris codices, Q (14th cent.) and D (16th cent.); in addition to which there is the evidence of Michael Psellus' treatise *εἰς τὴν ψυχογονίαν τοῦ Πλάτωνος* (11th cent.), the value of which is discussed in the 'praefatio.' Diehl holds that the new readings supplied by Psellus are overrated by Bidez, and possess little independent value. In textual details

Herr Diehl has had the advantage of consulting with the experienced editor of Proclus 'in rempublicam,' Herr G. Kroll, who has supplied many acute corrections and suggestions to be found in the footnotes. The ingenuity of these two scholars may be tested by a reference to that desperate passage 289 D ff., where the supplements suggested are sufficiently plausible.

The present edition will prove of interest to students of Plato, also, in so far as the citations in Proclus are evidence for the text of the *Timaeus*. For instance, in citing *Tim.* 39 c, Proclus writes μήν (not μέλ as most Platonic codd.), and κύκλον ἐπικατάλαβη τὸν ἥλιον (instead of κύκλον ἥλιον ἐπικ.); again in 41 A, Proclus has δέ for δ'οὖν and puts θεοί after φαίνονται instead of after ἐθέλωσι; and similar variations might be multiplied. To have gained further assurance as to what Proclus really wrote in these cases is a distinct advantage to the student of the Platonic text; and for giving us such assurance we are grateful to Herr Diehl.

R. G. BURY.

Essays and Addresses. By Sir R. C. JEBB.

Pp. viii + 648. Cambridge University Press. 10s. 6d.

THIS book contains a number of scattered papers, all printed before, but many of them difficult of access. There is no need to examine in detail papers which have been long before the world: we need only mention the more important. The paper on Pindar, reprinted from an early number of the *J.H.S.*, is the only scholarly account of his genius which we know of; and this alone would make the book worth having. But besides this, several other papers touch on Greek scholarship, especially from the dramatic and human side: 'The Genius of Sophocles,' 'The Speeches of Thucydides,' 'Suidas and the Trilogy,' 'The Age of Pericles.' In the 'Ancient Organs of Public Opinion,' Sir Richard Jebb touches a new subject with a light hand; but his humour serves only to spice without disguising his intelligent insight. Other papers are of more general literary interest: as Erasmus, Humanism in Education, Samuel Johnson, and several dealing with the present position of Classical Studies. The paper on Delos, written in 1880, needs to be brought up to date.

There is no index.

Translations into Greek and Latin Verse. By Sir

R. C. JEBB. Second Edition. Pp. xiv + 320. Cambridge University Press. 7s. 6d. net.

SIR R. JEBB'S skill in Greek verse is something quite uncanny; when 'from out the soul of Pindar in him, he rolls an Olympian,' he goes where perhaps hardly one living scholar can follow him. His Latin verse is beautiful, often enough, but in Greek he speaks his own language. These versions are nearly all well known and admired by all: they need no new praise. To this reprint several additions have been made: one is a Pindaric ode, a version of Leopardi's on the Monument to Dante; one an original ode in Pindaric metre; and there is an amusing experiment in literary 'Russian Scandal,' an English piece being translated first into Latin, thence into Greek, and then through German and French into English again. The result is instructive.

VERSION

I wish in heaven his soul may dwell,
That first found out the Leather Bottel.

A Leather Bottel we know is good,
Far better than glasses or cans of wood.
For when a man is at work in the field,
Your glasses and pots no comfort will yield.
Then a good Leather Bottel standing him
by,

He may drink always when he is adry.
'Twill revive the spirits and comfort the
brain;

Wherefore let none this Bottel refrain.
For I wish in heaven his soul may dwell
That first found out the Leather Bottel.

Also the honest Scythe-man too,
He knew not very well what to do,
But for his Bottel him standing near,
That is filled with good Household Beer.
At dinner, he sits him down to eat
With good hard cheese, and bread, or meat;
Then this Bottel he takes up amain,
And drinks; and sets him down again,
Saying, 'Good Bottel, stand my friend,
And hold out till this day doth end!'
For I wish in heaven his soul may dwell
That first found out the Leather Bottel.

And likewise the Haymakers, they
Whenas they are turning and making their
hay,

In summer weather, whenas it is warm,
A good Bottel-full then will do them no
harm.

And at noon-time they sit them down
To drink in their Bottels of Ale nut-brown.
Then the lads and the lasses begin to tattle,
'What should we do but for this Bottel?'
They could not work if this Bottel were
done;

For the day's so hot, with heat of the sun.
Then I wish in heaven his soul may dwell
That first found out the Leather Bottel.

And when this Bottel doth grow old,
And will good liquor no longer hold.
Out of the side you may take a clout
Will mend your shoes, when they're worn
out.

Else take it and hang it upon a pin;
'Twill serve to put many odd trifles in,
As hinges, awls, and candle-ends:
For young beginners must have such things.
Then I wish in heaven his soul may dwell
That first found out the Leather Bottel.

JOHN WADE.

utrem quisquis repperit primus potatorum
semper opto sedeat in choro deorum.
uter ego maximis laudibus te digno,
gratiorem vitreis, gratiorem ligno.
nihil iuvant cetera virum sitientem,
sive rus arantem, seu sarculis findentem:
utrem coriaceum adhibe cum vino,
ut, dum siccus maximum poculum propino,
recreetur spiritus consolatione:
quare securissimus utrem tu appone.
utrem quisquis repperit primus potatorum
semper opto sedeat in choro deorum.
iam qui tondent segetes strenui messorum,
possint quo defendere nesciant calores,
ni defessis improbi praesto sit laboris
uter cum domestici copia liquoris.
ubi mox consumpserit cibum matutinum,
carnem, durum caseum, panem genuinum,
arripit continuo utrem, ducit potum,
dum reponit angulo prope se admotum,
'Uter' inquit 'tu mihi sis amicus cura,
profluens ad vesperum serum tu perdura.'
qui te fecit igitur primus potatorum
semper ille sedeat in choro Deorum.
ipsi quin faeniseci faenum iacitanti,
huc illuc per pascua furculis versanti,
per aestiva tempora dies dum calebit,
modica potatio, credo, non nocebit.
dumque post meridiem gramine supini
potant aliquantulum rutilantis vini,
rogat alter alterum puer ac puella,
'absque hoc quid fieret nobis!' fit loquella.
nam sub Iove fervido, Sirio torrente,
hominum opuscula irent lente lente.
utrem quisquis repperit primus potatorum
semper opto sedeat in choro deorum.
At detricto corio cum senescet idem,
neque vinum integrum capiet iam pridem,
copiam invenies hinc panniculorum
quis hiulca sarcias fissa calceorum;
aut in muro, si voles, tu suspende ventis,
ut sit receptaculum nugis ac ramentis,
quo recondas subulas, cardines, candelas,
quae si quis desiderat efferet querellas.
qui te fecit igitur primus potatorum
semper ille sedeat in choro deorum.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Publishers and Authors forwarding Books for review are asked to send at the same time a note of the price.

The size of Books is given in inches: 4 inches = 10 centimetres (roughly). They are unbound unless the binding is specified.

. *Excerpts and Extracts from Periodicals and Collections are not included in these Lists unless stated to be separately published.*

- Aeschylus.* Eitrem (Dr. S.) Aischylos, populaere forelaesninger over Graekernes Aeldste Drama. 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 270. Kristiania, H. Aschehong and Co. (W. Nygaard).
- Aristophanes.* Four plays (the Acharnians, the Knights, the Birds, the Frogs), translated into English Verse by John Hookham Frere, with an introduction by W. W. Merry, D.D. (*The World's Classics CXXVII*) 6" x 4". Pp. xxii + 358. Henry Frowde. 1907. Art Cloth. 1s. net.
- Arrian.* Flavii Arriani quae exstant omnia edidit A. G. Roos. Volumen I. Alexandri Anabasin continens, accedit tabula phototypica. (*Bibl. Script. Gr. et Rom. Teub.*) 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. liv + 426. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1907. M. 3.20.
- Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche.* (Roma, 1-9 Aprile, 1903.) Volume I. Parte Generale. 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. x + 324. Rome, E. Loescher & Co. 1907. Lire 10.
- Ausfeld (Adolf.)* Der griechische Alexanderroman von A. A. (nach des Verfassers Tode herausgegeben von Wilhelm Kroll). 9" x 6". Pp. xii + 254. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1907. M. 8.
- Barone (Dott. Mario)* Sull' uso dell' Aoristo nel ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΑΝΤΙΔΙΟΡΕΩΣ di Isocrate con una introduzione intorno al significato fondamentale dell' Aoristo Greco. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. 110. Roma. Tipographia della R. Accademia dei Lincei. 1907.
- Birt (Theodor)* Die Buchrolle in der Kunst. Archäologisch-Antiquarische Untersuchungen zum antiken Buchwesen. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. x + 352, mit 190 Abb. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1907. M. 12.
- British Museum.* Greek Papyri in the British Museum. Facsimiles. Vol. III. 100 Plates (20" x 15") in Portfolio. Oxford, University Press. 1907. £3 3s.
- Brugmann (K.)* Die Distributiven und die Kollektiven Numeralia der indogermanischen Sprachen. (*Abhandl. d. K. S. Gesellsch. d. Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse. XXV. v.*) mit einem Anhang von Eduard Sievers. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 80. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1907. M. 3.60.
- Buchanan (George)* A Memorial, 1506-1906. Contributions by various writers, compiled and edited by D. A. Millar (on behalf of the Executive of the Students' Representative Council of St. Andrews University). 9" x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. xx + 490. St. Andrews, W. C. Henderson & Son. London, D. Nutt. 1907. Cloth, 7s. 6d. net.
- Burrows (Ronald M.)* The Discoveries in Crete and their bearing on the History of Ancient Civilization. 9" x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. xvi + 244, with illustrations. London, John Murray. 1907. Cloth, 5s. net.
- Caesar.* C. Iuli Caesaris de bello Gallico liber vii, edited by W. H. D. Rouse, Litt.D. (*Blackie's Latin Texts.*) 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. xii + 56. London, Blackie & Son. 1907. Linnen, 6d. net.
- Cauer (Paul)* ΟΜΗΡΟΥ ΙΛΙΑΣ. Homeri Ilias. Schulausgabe von P. C. Teil I. A-M. Zweiter Abdruck der zweiten, berichtigten und durch Beigaben vermehrten Auflage. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5". Pp. 268. Teil II. N-Ω. Zweiter Abdruck, etc. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5". Pp. 392. Leipzig, G. Freytag; Wien, F. Tempsky. 1907. Cloth, Teil I. M. 1.80 or 2 K. 20. Teil II. M. 2.50 or K. 3.
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ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

LATIN COMPOSITION.

IN the August number of this *Review* Mr. Rouse asks the questions 'What good purpose can be served by an exercise which is half wrong?' and 'How can any real literary feeling be present in one who knows no more of accident and idiom than to produce such a thing?' Then follows a sketch of the oral method applied to Latin teaching with a view to raising the present low standard of composition.

Now I wish to point out that in the questions above quoted and in the method proposed, there lurks a dubious assumption: dubious, first, because it is not clear; but secondly, because even if it were clear it is probably inadequate. If we judge what the assumption is by the method proposed, it would be that the object of teaching Latin is to give boys a power of using the language. If we judge from the questions asked, or rather from the second of them, there seems to be a different object assumed, viz. to cultivate a 'real literary feeling.' This is not at all the same thing as giving power to use the language, and it seems to me axiomatic that till we are clear about the object in view we shall never agree upon the methods to be adopted. Moreover, even if both these objects are allowed to be legitimate, there is another, very commonly spoken of, quite

different from either: and Mr. Rouse has not shown us if he is considering it at all: I mean the theory that Latin is taught because it is invaluable as an instrument to stimulate clearness of thought: in short as a 'gymnastic.'

In the well-known *Essays on a Liberal Education*, one of the writers plaintively, but truly, remarked that we have not yet made up our minds whether we read Latin authors for the sake of learning the language or learn the language in order to read the authors. To these two theories the 'Gymnastic' has recently been added. But what has escaped notice is that as long as Latin teachers do not make clear to themselves and to each other what they are aiming at, so long they are certain to produce feeble results because they will be more or less spoiling each other's work.

This can be illustrated by the fate of the proposal for oral Latin teaching in our secondary schools. Such teaching is I believe very rare, partly no doubt because it demands a considerable fluency on the part of the master, partly because many masters are aiming at something else than giving command of the language, viz. either at cultivating a literary taste, or at training to think. It is possible that a teacher who is aiming at the literary sense may hail the oral method

as a useful means to his end. He may say to himself 'these boys will never appreciate Virgil till they can read him easily: and to give the power of easy reading the oral method is excellent.' But suppose he is aiming at the gymnastic training of the mind, will his attitude be anything like so favourable? I doubt it. For the question now resolves itself into this:—Granted that clearness of thought, logical training in short, is the chief object of Latin teaching, do you give it as well by oral teaching as by the traditional method of exercises and construing? Many masters instinctively feel, I should say, that you do not. And if they feel that, they will not be eager about the oral method. And as the believers in the gymnastic theory are very numerous the oral method fares badly, and will fare badly *unless it can be shown to assist the gymnastic training.*

Now this is just where the difficulty lies. Some wise man, I forget who it was, remarked that the most superficial thinkers of his acquaintance were diplomats, who had been trained to acquire languages by the ear. And I think we should agree that if the oral method were perfectly applied, the result, if successful, would be a deceptive command of the language: deceptive. I mean, because it would represent very much less 'sweat of the brain' than a similar command given by the other method. A boy who can turn an English conditional sentence into Latin by ear has gained something no doubt in the process of learning how to do so; but it is something very different from, and I should say inferior to, that gained by the patient learner who has analysed the sentence, and wrestled with the ambiguities of *should*, *would*, *might*, etc., etc., in which our language abounds.

To this criticism there are two possible answers: (1) that the number of 'gymnasticists' is small: (2) that for purposes of logical training the oral method supplies material on which the mind can work; and this is where the traditional method fails. Many boys never reach the stage of logical thinking because they are never able to use their material, and sort it, and compare it. A certain command is necessary, and this command the old method fails to give.

(1) It cannot seriously be maintained that the number of 'gymnasticists' is small. I mean those who defend the teaching of Latin mainly on the ground of the logical training it gives. It is no doubt amazing how strong is the tendency among educated men to go on working without asking themselves what it is all about. But it is impossible to listen to any discussion or follow any controversy in the public press without inferring that every educational subject, Latin among the rest, is chiefly defended on the score of its 'training' power; and training means training to think.

(2) I think there is some force in this contention. It would follow from it that the oral method is chiefly needed for the less gifted boys, and of course it should not be the only one employed. We are in sore need of some psychology of the 'dunce' as we call him. What has his mind been doing before it produces a hopeless piece of composition? Speaking cautiously on a difficult question I would say that the failure is not due to the subject, but to the simple fact that at school 'dunces' are hurried along too fast. They are never allowed to see that their own work is an exemplification of law successfully applied to various phenomena, and long before they can do simple things well, they are turned on to more complex problems, and flounder along never really perceiving when they are out of their depth or not. This tragedy is partly due to large classes, partly to examinations; and if Mr. Rouse's method is applied to boys on the brink of the vast quagmire, I think it may be useful. To mediocre boys it might give an appearance of progress, but it would not *necessarily* mean progress in thought so much as in fluency.

There is more that might be said which I must suppress; but Mr. Rouse's question 'What good purpose can be served by an exercise which is half wrong?' demands a last word. It is very often forgotten that in the case of quite $\frac{9.9}{100}$ ths of our pupils such an exercise as Latin prose is only defensible on the ground that it trains the thinking powers, not at all because the boys are going some day to write prose like Cicero. But if we use Latin composition as a 'gymnastic' for a mediocre or dull boy with no sense

of idiom, obviously the performance may and will be very poor as to its results, but yet the gymnastic may be quite as successful as the state of the case permits. Why should we confuse the 'gymnastic' with the 'literary' aim? I cannot see that for many English

boys Latin composition has much to do with their literary sense. If they have any such sense, of which there is often no evidence, it should be trained by English teaching and learning good poetry.

E. LYTTTELTON.

THE TRUE SCENE OF THE SECOND ACT OF THE *EUMENIDES* OF AESCHYLUS.

IN this paper I propose to inquire whether the scene of the Second Act of the *Eumenides* is rightly laid on the Acropolis and at the Erechtheum, as has been universally held, and as it was recently represented in the splendid performance of the play at Cambridge, or whether we must look for some other site which is more in keeping with the conditions of the trial of Orestes. It will at once be said, What objections are there to the traditional view—that the Acropolis is the true scene of the trial? That was the most famous spot in Athens, and on it stood the oldest temple of Athena, already known in Homeric days. Yet the difficulties of this view will be obvious as soon as they are stated. In the first place, though there were in Athens four localities all intimately associated with trials of persons charged with homicide, not one of these was situated on the Acropolis, though it is true weapons and other inanimate objects which had shed the blood of men or of oxen were tried in the Prytaneum, the ancient residence of the Archon Eponymus on the north slope of the Acropolis. Secondly, though in the play Orestes is represented as taking sanctuary at a shrine of Pallas, and as taking in his arms her ancient *βρέτας*, there is not the slightest evidence that any image of the goddess Athena on the Acropolis, whether ancient or recent, offered an asylum to those who fled before the avenger of blood. Thirdly, in the play the goddess is always termed Pallas by the Pythian Priestess, by Apollo, and by the Furies in dialogue, though on two occasions Orestes does certainly address her as Athena, and she is so termed by the Furies twice in choral parts. Yet we know for certain, both by literary tradition

and from inscriptions, that the goddess who dwelt in 'the strong house of Erechtheus' on the Acropolis was never called *Pallas*, but was invariably known either as the *Polias*, or as Athena (or Athenaia) *Polias*.¹

On the other hand I propose to show that (1) there was a very ancient tribunal (if not the most ancient at Athens) for cases of homicide, more especially for that class of homicide to which Orestes pleaded guilty, situated outside the city wall to the south-east of the Acropolis; (2) that there was here a most ancient wooden image (*ξύανον*) to which those whose hands were reddened with the blood of their fellow men might fly to avoid the instant vengeance of the pursuer; and (3) that this image was never known by the name of Athena or Athenaia, but always by that of Pallas or Palladion.

Now as there were five different localities in or near Athens closely connected from old with trials for bloodshed, it is most unlikely that Aeschylus would in this play lay the scene of the trial at any spot other than one of those associated in the popular mind from time immemorial with the trial of homicide. This is all the more unlikely since he represents the first tribunal for the trial of that crime as instituted for the trial of Orestes, whilst he also refers to the establishment on the Hill of Ares of a great council (*βουλευτήριον*) which was not only to try cases of deliberate murder, but also to keep ward and control over the public morals.²

¹ Cf. Frazer's note on Paus. i. 26. 5.

² *Eum.* 684 *sqq.*

κλύουσιν' ἂν ἤδη θεσμὸν, Ἀττικὸς λεῶς,
πρώτας δίκας κρίνοντες αἵματος χυτοῦ.
ἔσται δὲ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν Αἰγέως στρατῶ
ἅλ' δικαστῶν τοῦτο βουλευτήριον.

Down to the time of Pausanias¹ (A.D. 180) there still survived at Athens five tribunals for cases of bloodshed. (1) There was the Areopagus, which sat on the famous hill that rises on the west over against the Acropolis. Here were tried cases of deliberate murder, wounding with malice, arson, and poisoning. (2) To the south-east of the Acropolis, outside the wall, lay an ancient shrine called the Palladion, so named from a very ancient image of Pallas, which tradition variously declared to have been brought from Ilium, or to have fallen from heaven, or else to have been set up by Athena in her repentance for having killed her play-mate Pallas. Here sat the court known as the τὸ ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ, where were tried those who had committed involuntary homicide (τοῖς ἀποκτείνουσιν ἀκουσίως). 'Nobody denies that Demophon was the first person tried here,' but there is a difference of opinion as to the crime for which he was tried, i.e. whether it was for accidentally killing Argives by mistake, or for accidentally trampling an Athenian under his horse's feet in the dark. (3) There was the court known as the Delphinion, also situated on the east side of the Acropolis and outside the city wall. It was a shrine of Apollo of Delphi, and in it were tried cases of justifiable homicide, e.g. those who had slain an adulterer taken in the act. 'On such a plea Theseus was acquitted when he had slain the rebel Pallas and his sons. But the custom was in former days, before the acquittal of Theseus, that every manslayer either fled the country, or, if he stayed, was slain even as he slew.' Yet it will soon be seen that the court probably owed its name to an older legend. (4) At Phreattys, on a tongue of land projecting into the sea at Zea, was held a court to try any manslayer who, during his period of exile, might have committed another crime of the same character. The judges sat on the shore, whilst the accused was literally docked in a boat moored off the beach, that he might not pollute with the miasma of his guilt the land of Attica. (5) In the Prytaneum, as already stated, weapons, especially the axe with which was slain the ox at the Buphonia, were tried.

¹ i. 28. 8-12.

If it be said that Pausanias does not refer to the trial of Orestes as having taken place at the Palladion, and consequently that this shrine cannot be the true scene of the act, I may at once point out that there is the same objection to the Areopagus, for Pausanias² says that that court was first established to try Ares for the murder of Halirrhothius, and makes no mention of the trial of Orestes at all.

Aeschylus gives us a totally different account of the establishment of the first tribunal for manslaughter, but as he wrote some six centuries and a half before Pausanias, we are justified in assuming that his statement represents a far older legend than those of Pausanias, and accordingly we may leave on one side the latter's account of the first cases supposed to have been tried at the Palladion, the Delphinion, and the Areopagus. Originally the judges in all these five courts for bloodshed were the ancient body called the Ephetae. The King archon presided and probably with the fifty Ephetae made up the Fifty and One, a term by which the body was likewise known. According to Pollux³ the Ephetae were constituted by Draco. Up to that time the Basileus had investigated and tried all cases of bloodshed, but Draco referred such to the Fifty and One, and from this reference of such cases Pollux ascribes the origin of their name Ephetae. But like so many other provisions in Draco's enactments the body had only been reconstituted, having really existed from time immemorial. The fact that they were selected on the ground of high birth (ἀριστύνδην αἰρεθέντας) of itself indicates that they were a survival from oligarchic and monarchical times. It is highly probable that in the Ephetae presided over by the Archon Basileus (himself the shadow of the ancient king) we have the survival of the ancient Gerusia or Boule. This view will be found to be quite in accord with certain statements of Aeschylus.

By Solon's reforms the Ephetae were replaced on the Areopagus by a body consisting of ex-archons, though jurisdiction in the

² i. 28. 5.

³ viii. 120: for an excellent summary of the evidence relating to the Ephetae see Dr. Sandys' note on Aris'. *Ath. Pol.* c. 57.

minor courts was still left to them. Aristotle¹ speaks as if they still continued to sit in these down to his day, but there is evidence that by the end of the fifth century B.C. ordinary dicasts sat in the Delphinion and Palladion, for we hear of seven hundred dicasts, a number inconsistent with the Fifty and One. Pollux² tells us that gradually the tribunal of the Ephetae was laughed to death.

It is clear that with the courts of Phreatys and of the Prytaneum we have nothing to do in our present inquiry. The Areopagus, the Palladion, and the Delphinion therefore remain as the three possible scenes for the asylum and trial of Orestes, unless we make the wild assumption that the dramatist laid the scene of the trial at some spot never associated either in fact or tradition with trials for homicide. It is useless to urge that the dramatists are not at all particular as to the spot in which a scene is laid. For though this may be so when an Attic dramatist is composing a play the scene of which is laid at Troy, at Argos, or at Thebes, he certainly would not expose himself to ridicule and criticism from his Attic audience when dramatising a legend which was indissolubly bound up with one of the courts established for homicide, the very origin of which was ascribed to the trial of Orestes.

Let us consider what are the conditions required for the spot where Orestes was tried. First of all there must be a most ancient image of the goddess. Secondly, it must be an image to which manslayers actually fled as suppliants when they could plead that the act was involuntary, as urged by Orestes in his own defence, or that it was justifiable, as was pleaded on his behalf by Apollo. Thirdly, this image ought to bear the name of Pallas and not that of Athena, for Apollo at Delphi orders Orestes to 'go to the city of Pallas and take your suppliant seat there embracing in your arms her ancient image. And there having judges to decide on these matters, and arguments in palliation of your crime, we will find means to relieve you from your troubles, for it was even in obedience to me that you slew that body which gave you birth.' Then

Apollo tells the Eumenides that Pallas will see justice done at the trial of Orestes. Fourthly, on that spot ought to sit the most ancient tribunal for trying homicide that was known at Athens, for Athena declares that the case of Orestes is too serious for one to decide, and therefore she will institute a *thesmos* to deal with such cases, who are to be the noblest of her citizens.³ These last words seem especially to apply to the Ephetae, who, as we have just seen, were chosen *ἀριστίνδην*. Moreover, when Athena says that the case of Orestes is too great for one to decide, we seem to have a direct allusion to the tradition preserved in Pollux that 'in old days the king heard cases of bloodshed, but that Draco established the court of Ephetae.' Furthermore, this oldest court for homicide cannot be one for deliberate murder, but only for the trials of those who could plead extenuating circumstances.

Let us examine the respective claims of all the three competitors beginning with the Delphinion. As this was the shrine of the Apollo of Delphi, it is inconceivable that there would be in it a most ancient image of Pallas, such as that at which Orestes took sanctuary and which he clasped in his arms. For assuredly the object of adoration in the Delphinion would have been a statue of Apollo and not that of the goddess. Moreover, this shrine of Apollo was not an immemorial place of veneration, as is fully shown by its name, for it represents that particular form of cult connected with Apollo at Delphi, and accordingly we must regard it as adventitious at Athens. As Apollo based his defence of Orestes on the ground that he was justified in slaying his mother to avenge his father, it would appear that trials of those who pleaded justification for their shedding of blood, such as those who had slain an adulterer taken in the act, or those who had slain others in self-defence, as in the mythical case of Theseus, were associated with this shrine, because Apollo was supposed to have first laid down at Athens in the case of Orestes the principle that intentional homicide could be justified.

¹ *Ath. Pol.* c. 57.

² viii. 125.

³ *Eum.* 465: κρίνασα δ' ἀστῶν τῶν ἐμῶν τὰ βέλτατα.

Let us now turn to the court of the Palladion. (1) Here stood the most ancient image of which we have any account in Athens. According to the legend given by Pausanias (*l.c.*) 'after the capture of Ilion Diomedes was sailing homeward, and night having fallen when they arrived off Phalerum, the Argives disembarked, as in an enemy's country, taking it in the dark for some land other than Attica. Hereupon Demophon being also unaware that the men from the ships were Argives came out against them and slew some of them, and carried off the Palladion.' Another legend says that the image had fallen from heaven upon the hill of Ate, whilst still another story says that Athena slew her playmate Pallas and erected an image of her. The Palladion had closed eyes, and was a type essentially different from that of the statues of Athena.

(2) Each year the Ephebi carried the image out of its shrine to Phalerum to the sea and back again with torches and every form of pomp.¹ The Nomophylakes marshalled the procession.² Doubtless the image was taken down to the sea to be laved in the sea-water, in order to remove the pollution which during the previous year it might have contracted from the embraces of those who, like Orestes, had taken refuge and embraced it in their arms. That the object in bringing the statue down to the sea was to wash it from all impurity is rendered clear by the passage in the *Iphigeneia in Tauris*,³ where Iphigeneia effects the escape of Orestes, Pylades, and herself by telling Thoas the Tauric king that it was necessary to purify the image of Artemis from the miasma of Orestes and Pylades not by fresh water, but by sea-water, 'for the sea washes away all human pollution.' We need therefore have no doubt that the Palladion was used from time immemorial as a sanctuary in which those whose

hands were red with human blood took refuge. (3) In it sat the Ephetae, who had once sat even on the Areopagus until Solon had replaced them by a body of exarchons.

(4) There is not the slightest evidence that trials for deliberate murder ever took place here, for they would seem from their first institution to have been held on the Areopagus. Of course it may be said, if the trials for wilful murder were held from the first on that famous spot, then that must have been the oldest court for homicide, since deliberate murder was the most serious offence, and for it a tribunal would be first erected. But this is a complete misconception of the evolution of the law of trial for murder at Athens and in many other places. We are told by Aeschylus⁴, and Pausanias (*supra*) repeats the same tradition that in old days at Athens prevailed the stern rule, that whoso had shed man's blood, whether accidentally, justifiably, or wilfully, should be slain, even as he slew.

This was exactly the same doctrine as that held by the Semites on the other side of the Mediterranean. Amongst the latter we have the clearest proof that the first step in any modification of the custom by which the avenger of blood was permitted to kill the manslayer, no matter whether the latter had slain his victim by accident or design, was the establishment of sanctuaries. Such were the six cities of Refuge enjoined by Jehovah through the mouth of Moses. 'That the manslayer may flee thither, which killeth any person at unawares (*ἀκουσίως*). They shall be unto you cities of refuge from the avenger; that the manslayer die not, until he stand before the congregation in judgment.'⁵ If he could show that he had shed blood unwittingly, he was spared and there he dwelt until the death of the High Priest at Jerusalem. It will be observed that the manslayer was tried at the asylum where he had taken refuge, not brought somewhere else to be tried. This was but natural, seeing that if he once quitted his

¹ *C.I.A.* ii. 469, 10: ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἔφηβοι . . . ἐξήγαγον δὲ καὶ τὴν Παλλάδα κακεῖθεν πάλιν συνεισέγαγον μετὰ φωτὸς, μετὰ πάσης εὐκοσμίας (cf. *C.I.A.* ii. 471, 11).

² Suidas, p. 1273: οἱ δὲ νομοφύλακες τῇ Παλλάδι τὴν πομπὴν ἐκόσμου ὅτε κομίζοιτο τὸ ξόανον ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν.

³ Eur. *Iph. Taur.* 1193: κλύζει θάλασσα πάντα τᾶνθρώπων κακά. Cf. Farnell, *Cults of Greek States*, vol. i. p. 304.

⁴ *Choeph.* 305: δρᾶσαντι παθεῖν τριγέρων μῦθος τάδε φωνεῖ.

⁵ *Numbers*, xxxv. 11-13: πᾶς ὁ πατάξας ψυχὴν ἄκουσίως (LXX).

sanctuary he was liable to be slain by the avenger at any moment. The Semitic practice gives us the clue to the various steps in the evolution of the law of homicide at Athens. Here as in Palestine the ancient custom was that the slayer should be slain. As the first relaxation of this merciless rule was the establishment of an asylum for those who had unwittingly shed blood, so we are justified in assuming that when at Athens we find distinct tribunals for different kinds of homicide, involuntary, justifiable, and deliberate, the first named (*i.e.* the Palladion) must have been the oldest, that for deliberate murder (the Areopagus) the last, that for justifiable (the Delphinion), the second, but this is exactly what Aeschylus assumes, for he represents that the first tribunal for homicide was established for cases where extenuating circumstances were alleged—Orestes himself pleading that he had committed the crime under the compulsion of Apollo, Apollo urging that Orestes was justified in killing his mother to avenge his father. In other words Aeschylus represents the first tribunal as instituted for both the classes of homicide which in historical times were divided between the Court of the Palladion and that of the Delphinion. But this is only what might have been expected, for the first step in the amelioration of the law of vengeance would be in the case of those who had killed unawares, the second would be the feeling that a man, even though he slew deliberately, might be justified in so doing. Naturally those who first urged the latter plea took refuge at the ancient sanctuary whither resorted those who had slain a man unawares; and it would be only later that a separate court would be established for the second class of extenuating circumstances.

But this is completely in accordance with the statement of Aeschylus, for the court first established to try homicide was held at a sanctuary which contained a most ancient image of Pallas. But as it was at the court of the Palladion that trials for involuntary homicide were tried, there can be little doubt that the court of the Palladion was older than that of the Delphinion. Moreover, as the name Delphinion shows, that Shrine was of

comparatively recent origin, and as its connection with justifiable homicide apparently arose from the belief that Apollo had first broached that doctrine at Athens in the case of Orestes, we must conclude that it was of more recent date than the Palladion.

Let us now turn to the remaining claimant, the Areopagus. How does it fit the conditions of the case? (1) There was there no ancient image called by the name of either Athena or Pallas, for Pausanias only mentions a statue of Athena Promachos on the Hill of Ares. (2) There is not the slightest evidence that any other form of homicide except deliberate murder was ever tried there. (3) It is only as the last step in the evolution of the law of homicide that the community steps in between the next of kin and the deliberate manslayer, and insists that a solemn inquiry into the facts of the case shall be carried out before the accused shall be put to death. Accordingly the court of the Areopagus comes latest in the process of legal evolution. That court therefore fails as completely as the Delphinion to fulfil the required conditions, whereas the Palladion, as has just been shown, is in strict accord with all the requirements of the play. For it had an immemorial *xoanon*, used as a place of sanctuary by manslaughterers, and this was never called by any other name than that of Pallas or Palladion, whilst in its precincts was held the court for the trial of involuntary homicide which we have just seen was the first stage in the mitigation of the ancient pitiless rule of a life for a life.

In the first attempt to mitigate the severity of the antique law the king and his council of elders would naturally be the body who would decide whether a particular manslayer had shed blood involuntarily or justifiably. I have already pointed out that the Fifty and One consisting of the Basileus Archon and fifty others chosen for their high birth look like the survival of the ancient king and Gerontes or Boule. The Basileus laid the case before the court (*εισάγει*) as Athena does in the play. Aeschylus evidently believed that the first trial for homicide took place before the ancient Boule, for otherwise he would not have represented it as taking place in a Council chamber

(βουλευτήριον).¹ Whilst it is very likely that in ancient times the king decided all ordinary cases himself, as did the Egyptian kings, and as is perhaps implied in the tradition preserved in Pollux, yet in cases of bloodshed the king would have felt like Athena in the play, and held that such cases were too serious to be tried by any one individual, whether mortal or immortal, and accordingly he laid (εἰσήγαγε) the matter before the Boule.

If it be urged that although Orestes took sanctuary at the Palladion, nevertheless he was tried on the Areopagus, and in support of this contention it be said that the words πάγον δ' Ἄρειον τόνδ' Ἀμαζόνων ἔδραν refer to the spot where the trial is proceeding, it may be at once pointed out that τόνδε is simply used δεικτικῶς, as is so often the case ('yon Hill of Ares'), for the reference to the Areopagus is only secondary, having been introduced by Aeschylus, as is commonly held, in order to support the Areopagites against the democratic legislation of Pericles and Ephialtes.

But there are several grave objections to this view. In the first place, it has already been pointed out (*supra*) that it was in the very essence of an asylum that the manslayer should remain there until it had been decided whether he could plead extenuating circumstances or not. If Orestes had been removed from the Palladion to be tried on the Hill of Ares, he would have been exposed to the vengeance of the Furies as soon as he had quitted the Palladion. Again, if the trial took place on the Areopagus, it is strange there would be no reference to the two famous unhewn stones of Anaideia and Hybris, on which stood the accuser and the accused respectively. Furthermore, at the close of the play Athena declares that she will send the Erinyes by torchlight to the cavernous recesses beneath the earth under the conduct of her attendants who guard her *breias*, whilst the best born of all the land of Theseus shall

come, a goodly company of maidens, married women, and aged matrons. It seems very unlikely that Athenian women would be represented as present on the Areopagus during the trial, and ready to form a procession. Moreover, there is no reason why the attendants of Athena who had charge of her ancient image, should be present at a spot where there was no shrine of the goddess, and no ancient image known either as Pallas or Athena. On the other hand, if the procession started from the Palladion, moving from south-east to the Areopagus, the attendants of Athena will naturally be ready to escort the Furies, now clad in scarlet like Metics (as Dr. Headlam has cleverly shown) to their future abode in the side of the Areopagus. Moreover, the words εὐφαιείτε δὲ, χωρῖται (989) and εὐφαιείτε δὲ πανδαμεί (991) have no force, if we hold that the procession is simply moving down from the top of the hill to the cavern in its side, for why should all the Athenians be present? On the other hand if the procession is passing across the lower town from the Palladion to the Areopagus, then the exhortation to the whole population to observe a religious silence is completely in place. Finally, if the procession moved from the court on the Areopagus down the hill to the cavern in its side, we ought naturally to meet some word or phrase, in the marshalling of the procession, to signify that it was descending the side of the hill. But no such word as καταβαίνειν occurs, but simply προβάτε and βᾶτε.

We have now compared the claims of the Erechtheum with those of the three chief courts for the trial of homicide, and we have found that the former fails to satisfy any of the necessary conditions. But as the Areopagus and Delphinion also fail in all respects except that they were tribunals for homicide, whereas the Palladion fulfils them all, we may conclude that the scene of the asylum and trial of Orestes is to be laid at the Palladion.

WILLIAM RIDGEWAY.

¹ *Επιμ.* 540: πληρουμένου γὰρ τοῦδε βουλευτηρίου.

NOMEN OMEN.

Δύναται δὲ κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ταῖτα τὰ οὐνόματα Δαρείος ἐρξίης, Ξέρξης ἀρήιος, Ἀρταξέρξης μέγας ἀρήιος. τούτους μὲν δὴ τοὺς βασιλέας ὥδε ἂν ὀρθῶς κατὰ γλῶσσαν τὴν σφετέρην Ἕλληνες καλέοιεν.—Herodotos 6. 58.

It saute aux yeux and still more aux oreilles that we ought to read: Δαρείος ἀρήιος, Ξέρξης ἐρξίης, Ἀρταξέρξης κάρτα ἐρξίης. And reflection confirms the changes. For why should Herodotos have used the excessively rare word ἐρξίης,¹ unless he wished to bring

¹ *Eti. mag.* 376, 52 ff. Ἐρξίας· ὄνομα κύριον. παρὰ τὸ ρέζω ρέξω, ρεξίας· ὑπερβιβασμῶ ἐρξίας, ὁ πρακτικός· ὁμοίως τῷ ἐρέκτης, ἐρκτής. *Cod. Vossianus* (V.) adds a quotation from an anonymous poet cited by Hephaest. 6. 2: ἐρξίη πῇ δ' αὖτ' ἐνολβος ἀθροίζεται στρατός. Bergk prints this as Archiloch. *frag.* 60 Ἐρξίη, πῇ δηῦτ' ἐνολβος ἀθροίζεται στρατός; and Consbruch in his 1906 ed. of Hephaestion follows suit. But it may well be a quotation from the lost version of Aischylos' *Persai* (schol. *Ar. van.* 1028) or from Phrynichos' *Phoinissai*, in which case Ἐρξίης will be the Hellenised form of Ξέρξης, and my argument will be materially strengthened.

out what he took to be the obvious etymology of Ξέρξης? And is it mere coincidence that ἀρήιος is related to Δαρείος precisely as ἐρξίης to Ξέρξης? That Δαρείος ἀρήιος, Ξέρξης ἐρξίης should have been corrupted into Δαρείος ἐρξίης, Ξέρξης ἀρήιος will surprise no student of palaeography, or indeed of human nature—witness the Tongan myth about the origin of tattooing.² And, when once the words had been wrongly coupled, the change of Ἀρταξέρξης . . . ἐρξίης into Ἀρταξέρξης . . . ἀρήιος was inevitable. How κάρτα became μέγας, I am not prepared to say: but, if the scholiast on Eur. *Hipp.* 90 thought it worth his while to explain the poet's καὶ κάρτα γε by καὶ λίαν or καὶ πάνν or καὶ μάλιστα, it seems possible that μέγας was a gloss on the historian's κάρτα.

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

² E. B. Tylor *Primitive Culture*,³ London 1891 i. 393.

HIPPOKLEIDES' DANCE.

HIPPOKLEIDES, by way of outshining all other competitors for the hand of the fair Agariste, bade some one bring in a table. And '—I give the words of Herodotos¹—'when the table came in, he danced upon it first of all sundry *Laconian* figures, secondly *Attic* figures too, and in the third place' Here I pause. Suppose that at this point there had been a lacuna in the text of the historian: we should all have filled it up with some such conjectural reading as this—'and in the third place certain *Theban* figures.' For after Sparta comes Athens, and after Athens what but Thebes? Hence, when Herodotos continues—'and in the third place he put his head down on the table and waved in the air with his legs,' it is tempting to suppose that this was no school-boy freak, but a definite dance probably of Theban origin.

¹ *Hdt.* 6. 129.

I had long been convinced that Hippokleides' apparent prank was in reality a recognised, if not a ritual, performance, when it occurred to me that as such it might be aptly illustrated by the vase-fragment here reproduced.² This fragment came from the site of the Kabeirion at Thebes and is part of a *PELLA* of local fabric, referable to the end of the fifth century B.C.³ or perhaps to the beginning of the fourth. The class of ware to which it belongs is hieratic in character and stood in some relation to the cult of the Kabeiros, who at Thebes was distinctly Dionysiac.⁴ The subjects portrayed on the ware are usually caricatures or grotesque

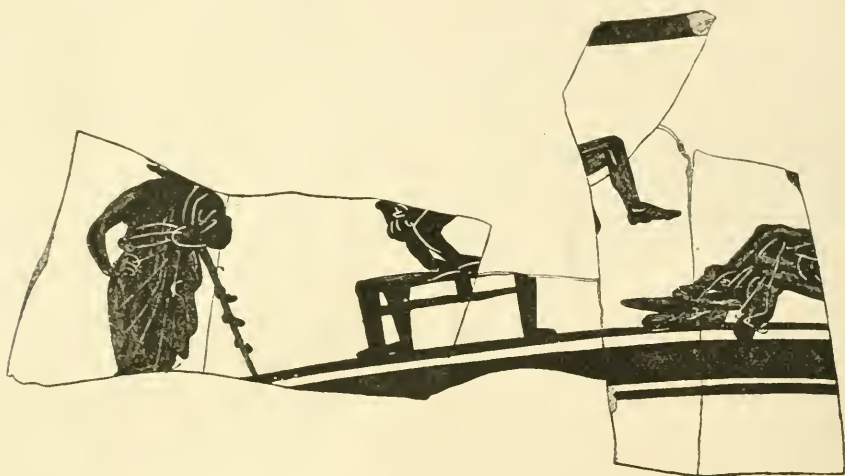
² From the *Mittheil. d. k. d. arch. Inst. : athen. Abtheil.* 1888 xiii. 425 fig. 17.

³ C. Smith in the *J.H.S.* 1890 xi. 348.

⁴ H. Winnefeld in the *Athen. Mittheil.* 1888 xiii. 414 ff., H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery*, London 1905 i. 52 f., 391 f., ii. 159 f.

representations of mythical episodes, scenes of flute-playing, dancing, hunting, etc. Our fragment depicts on the right a seated or reclining figure, wearing a *himation*, and probably to be identified with the Kabeiros himself¹; on the left, a man clad in a *himation* and leaning on a knotted staff; and between them a three-legged table, on which a nude (?) man is resting his hands, while he kicks up his heels so as to turn a somersault or dance on his head. In the *Classical Review* for 1895² I published another cup from the same site, which likewise represented a man dancing on a three-legged table—clearly a quasi-dramatic per-

legged table of the Kabeirion, through (2) the three-legged, four-legged, five legged, etc. platforms of the *φλύακες* as figured on South Italian vases,³ up to (3) the architectural pilared *hyposkenion* at Epidauros. However that may be, the tumbler's dance⁴ depicted on our vase-fragment must certainly have been part of the Kabeiric ritual at Thebes. And I infer that Hippokleides, after showing the astonished company how they footed it at Sparta and at Athens, ended his variety entertainment (and his hopes of Agariste) by this shameless Theban turn.⁷ When with a final flourish of his heels he exclaimed *οὐ φροντὶς Ἴπποκλείδῃ*, he surely did not mean



formance before a god resembling Dionysos *Δειοδρίτης*; and I endeavoured to show that the table or table-altar (*τράπεζα*,³ *ἐλεός*⁴) served as the primitive stage. Indeed it would be easy to trace the whole evolution of the Greek dramatic stage from (1) the three-

'Hippokleides doesn't care!': that would have been *οὐδὲν μέλει μοι*. Rather he trolled a few trochaic words appropriate to his festive fling: 'Hippokleides has no cares!' Kleisthenes was perhaps unjust when he treated these Kabeiric capers as a proof of indecorous levity. But posterity is still more so, if it mistakes light-heartedness for downright impudence.

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

¹ Cp. the reclining *KABIROΣ* in the *Athen. Mittheil.* 1888 xiii. pl. 9.

² *C.R.* 1895 ix. 373.

³ *El. mag.* 458, 30 ff. *s.v.* *θυμέλη* ἡ τοῦ θεάτρου μέχοι νῦν ἀπὸ τῆς τραπεζῆς ὠνόμασται, παρὰ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῆς τὰ θύη μερίζεσθαι, τουτέστι τὰ θυόμενα ἱερεία. *τράπεζα* δὲ ἦν, ἐφ' ἧς ἐστῶτες ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς ἤδον, μήπω τάξιν λαβούσης τραγῳδίας. *Orion* 72. 8 ff. *s.v.* *θυμέλη* reads *τράπεζα* δὲ ἦν πρὸ τούτου, ἐφ' ἧς κ.τ.λ.

⁴ *Poll.* 4. 123 *ἐλεὺς* δ' ἦν *τράπεζα* ἀρχαία, ἐφ' ἧς ἦν πρὸ *Θέσπιδος* εἰς τις ἀναβὰς τοῖς χορευταῖς ἀπεκρίνατο.

⁵ *J.H.S.* Supplementary vol. i. (*Megalopolis*) 96 ff.

⁶ *Poll.* 4. 105 *τραγικῆς ὀρχήσεως σχήματα* include *κυβίστησις*.

⁷ *Zenob.* 5. 31 with the passages collected by Leutsch and Schneidewin *ad loc.*

LUCRETIUS II. 355 *sqq.*

at mater viridis saltus orbata peragrans
 nonquit humi pedibus vestigia pressa
 bisulcis,
 omnia convisens oculis loca si queat usquam
 conspiciere amissum fetum, completque
 querellis
 frondiferum nemus.

Nonquit O: oinquit Q: linquit Q corr.:
 noscit Lachm.: novit Brieger.

Noscit is read by Munro and Giussani, but it is hard to see why such a common word should have been corrupted. The whole passage is very closely imitated by Ovid *Fast.* 4. 459 *sqq.* 'Ut vitulo mugit sua mater ab ubere raptō Et quaerit fetus per nemus omne suos... Inde puellaris nacta est vestigia plantae Et pressam noto pondere vidit humum: Quacumque ingreditur miseris loca cuncta querellis Implet.' The use of nacta est in this passage of Ovid suggests

that the corruption in the text of Lucretius was due to the use of *nancit*, the archaic form of *nanciscitur*. For the form *nancio* cf. the fragment of Gracchus, quoted by Priscian (1. 513), Si nanciam populi desiderium, comprobabo reipublicae commoda. We also find the deponent form *nancior* in the fragments of the XII Tables (Wordsworth, *Fragments and Specimens*, p. 264). Nacta est occurs in 2. 872, and nactae sunt in 4. 1252, but Lucretius employs archaic and normal forms indifferently, e.g. sonere, sonare: cupiret, cuperet: potestur, potest: fuat, sit: escit, erit: vis (pl.), vires: noenu, non: suppus, supinus: sublinus, sublimis.

If *nancit* were the original reading, it would be certain to be corrupted, and there is no more common confusion in the MSS. of Lucr. than that of c and qu.

GEORGE W. MOONEY.

REVIEWS

GREEK CULTS.

The Cults of the Greek States. By LEWIS RICHARD FARNELL, D.Litt., M.A., F.A.S. Vols. III. and IV. Oxford: Clarendon Press, Henry Frowde. 1907. 8vo. 2 vols. III. = pp. xii + 394; IV. = pp. viii + 454. 86 plates. 32s. net.

THESE two volumes amply maintain the position which Dr. Farnell won for himself as the leading authority on Greek religion by the first two volumes. They are marked by the same exhaustive knowledge of the original sources and the views of modern writers, power of clear and vigorous expression, and sanity of judgment.

A characteristic example of Dr. Farnell's method may be seen in his treatment of the legend of the Phigaleian Demeter and the Thelpusan Erinyes (iii, 50-62). To avoid

the pursuit of Poseidon, Demeter assumed the form of a mare: the god then took the form of a stallion and begat on her the horse Areion and a daughter, Despoina. The Phigaleians had a legend of a horse-headed temple-image of the goddess. Possibly these facts may point to an old worship of the horse as such, comparable with the worship of the cow and snake in India, and Mr. Cook has seen traces of such cults in the Mycenaean age (*J.H.S.*, 1894). But Greece presents no clear example of such worship, and Dr. Farnell therefore rejects this view. He also rejects the explanation that the horse is a chthonian animal and so connected with the chthonian goddess, since the traces in Greek religion of the chthonian character of the horse are vague and scanty. On the analogy of the October horse at Rome it might be

held that the horse was an embodiment of the corn-spirit, but to this view Dr. Farnell objects that the horse in Greece was by no means an agricultural animal and was never offered in sacrifice to any of the recognized vegetation deities. Finally the possibility of totemism is excluded by the fact that we have no record of a horse clan.

Dr. Farnell's own theory rests on the derivation of the cult from Boeotia, where Poseidon was worshipped as Hippios and was deemed to have been united with the earth-goddess. Demeter, or Erinyes, may have taken over from him in some local cults and legends an equine form to enable her to become the mother of his horse progeny. Plausible as this explanation is, it involves rejecting the old comparison of the Greek legend with the story of Vivasvat and Saranyū in Vedic mythology. No doubt the equation of Erinyes and Saranyū is philologically impossible, but names are of the least importance in legends, and, though the form in which the story has come down to us contains diverse elements, its main features have too many parallels in Vedic religion to allow us to accept the theory (i, 2) that the myth is a mere piece of aetiology. In both cases the salient facts are the flight of the goddess, the assumption of horse shapes, and the birth of horse progeny, in the one case Areion, in the other the Ásvins, whose horsemanship no doubt reflects an earlier horse shape, just as the horses of the sun are originally the sun. The flight may be explained as a relic of marriage by capture, or, on the Vedic analogy of Yama and Yami, as signifying the difficulties felt by primitive man as to the marriage of the first pair. The assumption of animal forms is frequent in Vedic cosmogonic legends (see Bloomfield, *J.A.O.S.*, xv, 178), perhaps because of the great fertility of certain animals or to explain the descent of animals from human beings.

Elsewhere, also, Dr. Farnell shows himself opposed to accepting totemism as an explanation of theriomorphism in cult or myth. In the case of Poseidon Hippios he adopts (iv, 22) the view that the horse was regarded as a symbol of water in the sense that the god, while remaining something

other than the symbol, yet temporarily is incarnate therein. He adopts a similar view in the case of Apollo Lykeios (iv, 116). Apollo is the god of the woods of a race of hunters and shepherds, and the fierce beast of the woods is readily regarded as an occasional incarnation. Or perhaps without accepting totemism we may regard this case as a survival of zoolatry, in view of the existence of the Hirpini and their wolf dance. Even Apollo Smintheus—assuming his Hellenic character—does not prove totemism (iv, 256), for there is no record of a mouse-tribe or of the sacramental eating of mice. Probably Apollo as agricultural deity was deemed responsible for field mice, and mice might sometimes be propitiated, like the mouse-king in a Vedic ritual (see Hillebrandt, *Rituallitteratur*, p. 85).

Nor is Dr. Farnell disposed to assign great prominence to the sacramental meal in which the worshippers partake of the body of the slain god. He does not find that any such sacrament formed part of the Eleusinia (iii, 184), and indeed even those cases in which he recognizes the phenomenon as perhaps present (iv, 258) seem to us open to a simpler explanation than one which assumes that the worshippers regarded themselves as partaking of the body of a slain god. As Dr. Farnell himself points out, the Greeks from Homeric times were familiar with the form of sacrament which consists in the god and the worshippers feasting on the victim, and thus becoming so far of the same flesh. But further it must be remembered that, when the victim is offered, the deity is conceived as coming to consume it, and the presence of the divinity at the altar and his mystic feeding on the victim fill its body with his spirit. So a victim which before the sacrifice was not regarded as divine may become in the course of the sacrifice by the entrance of the deity so filled with the divine spirit that the contact of its flesh or blood or skin conveys holiness, as in the case of the *δσιωτήρ* at Delphi, and that the worshippers may feel that they are obtaining closer union with the god than could be gained by merely eating the same food with the god. Such cases may have been the goat sacrifice at the Laconian

Kopides, and the eating at the Thesmophoria of the remains of the flesh of the pigs offered to Demeter and partly consumed by the snakes, which no doubt were regarded as incarnations of the earth-goddess (iii, 90) an example of particular interest. In all these cases there is no need to assume the slaying of a god. More doubtful, perhaps, is the wolf sacrifice to Apollo at Argos referred to by the scholiast on Sophokles, *Elektra* 6. But there is no trace (iv, 255) of any eating of wolves by the worshippers, and the wolf may have been considered a particularly suitable animal for sacrifice to Apollo as was the horse for Poseidon, inasmuch as it was sometimes conceived as the temporary incarnation of the god, and its strength would by the sacrifice be magically transferred to him. Or again, its ceremonial sacrifice may be due to reasons similar to those which move the Ainus in sacrificing the bear (cf. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*,² ii, 389). Indeed it seems worthy of further inquiry whether the conception of eating the slain god belongs to Hellenic religion or is due to borrowing from the earlier inhabitants of the Mediterranean area. Such borrowing appears clear in the case of the Mother of the Gods (iii, 295), and it is in the myths connected with her spouses, Attis and Adonis, and in the partially foreign worships of Dionysos and Aphrodite, that we find stress laid on the death of the god. It is at any rate worth noting that it is hard to find any parallel ideas in Vedic religion.

Probably it was to foreign sources and in particular to the worship of Rhea that is due the great prominence of goddesses in Greek religion. There are no doubt goddesses in the Vedic pantheon, and the Hellenes must have brought female deities with them when they entered Greece, but just as the Vedic Indians gradually took over the worship of the earth-goddess as a great divinity from the aborigines, so, it seems, did the Greeks graft their goddesses upon the great mother-goddess of the Mediterranean people. But from this worship to ascribe matriarchy to the Greeks or even to the pre-Hellenic stocks, as do Dr. Frazer and Miss Harrison, is utterly unjustifiable. If women were solely charged with the conduct of the Thesmophoria, that was doubtless due, as Dr. Farnell points out (iii, 111),

to their peculiar sensitiveness to religious ecstasy and their consequent greater power of working magic to promote the growth of the crops.

While, however, such speculations must remain doubtful, we need not hesitate to recognize the value of the evidence produced by Dr. Farnell as to the relations of the Hellenic tribes. For ethnological purposes it is now recognized that myths are useless, and that the evidence of cult alone deserves much consideration. When we find that Poseidon Hippios (iv, 23) was specially connected with the Thessalian Minyae, among whom the *ταυροκαθάψια* appears to have developed into a religious rite, we may fairly use the diffusion of the cult as a trace of Minyan influence. Still more important is the case of Poseidon Helikonios. The word cannot possibly be derived from Helike, and Dr. Farnell (iv, 32) rightly sees in it a proof of an old Ionian worship of Poseidon at Helikon at a time when the Ionians and the Minyae dwelt together in Boeotia. Later, pressure from the north drove the Ionians south into Attica, the Argolid and Achaëa. In Attica itself the cults of Poseidon and Apollo enable us to trace various streams of Hellenic migration (iv, 48, 156). As against Miss Harrison, Dr. Farnell conclusively proves that Erechtheus cannot be identified with Poseidon, but is the old hero of Athens, who with Athene, Zeus, and Hephaistos, makes up the gods of the first Hellenic settlement. From the tetrapolis was introduced into Athens the cult of Apollo as Patroos and Pythios by Ionians, and the legend of Ion was gradually accepted, though Apollo never won his way into the circle of divinities of the phratric ritual. Later came Poseidon with a new Ionian migration from Troezen, and his worship seems to have been strengthened by a settlement of Minyae. Of even greater ethnographic significance is the cult of Apollo Lykeios (iv, 113). The evidence of Homer must be deemed conclusive for the early presence of Hellenes in Lycia, and the name itself appears to be Greek. It can hardly be doubted that the Greek migration took place *via* Crete, and it is at least very probable that the Ruka of the Egyptian monuments

of Rameses II. are the Lycians, so that we obtain some evidence of weight that Hellenic settlement had taken place in Crete by the fifteenth century B.C., a result of great importance for the early ethnology of the Aegean.

Of the great festivals connected with the cults dealt with in these volumes, the most interesting are the Thesmophoria (iii, 75-112), the Eleusinia (iii, 126-198), and the Thargelia (iv, 268-284). Dr. Farnall proves conclusively that the Thesmophoria had nothing to do with laws or marriage, but was a rite intended to further human and animal fertility, as the women's ceremonial march with torches and the ritual αἰσχρολογία would be sufficient to show. His interpretation of θεσμοφόρος as 'the bringer of treasure or riches' (iii, 106) is attractive and probable. In the case of the Eleusinia he rejects Dr. Jevons' theory of the sacramental meal of corn, and M. Foucart's attempt to resolve it into an analogue of the Book of the Dead. The former theory seems, indeed, impossible in view of the silence of Iamblichos in his attack in the *De Mysteriis* on the gift theory of sacrifice, and the latter theory confuses the private Orphic mysteries with the Eleusinian cult. The religious power of the Eleusinia appears, indeed, from the old notices, to have rested in the main on the spectacle with its striking allegory of life and death. The Thargelia, on the other hand, takes us back to a very primitive stage of ideas. The human victims there offered combined in themselves the functions of scapegoats and the decaying deity of vegetation. But in view of Dr. Frazer's theory of the slain god, it is

worth noting that in the Attic festival no trace appears of any consciousness on the part of the worshippers that the victims were in any degree divine. So also, even if we admit, what is not very probable, that in the Karneia the priest once died in the ritual, yet we must agree with Dr. Farnell (iv, 284), that the idea of the ceremony was not pressed to the strained logical conclusion that in his death the god died also.

It must suffice merely to refer to Dr. Farnell's conclusive proof that Apollo is not a sun-god (iv, 136-143), to his development of Ahrens' theory of the original meaning of Ὑπερβόρειοι as Ὑπέρφεροι, the sacred ministrants who carried the cereal offerings from one community to another (iv, 100-104), to the proof from cult-titles of the very early date of the Aeolic migration (iv, 169), to the interesting chapter on the cults of Hades (iii, 280-288), and to the note on the existence of the conception of a virgin mother (iii, 305, 306). Most important for the history of Greek morality is the section on the influence of Delphi (iv, 202, *seq.*), and, for the history of art, the chapters on the cult monuments and the ideal types of Demeter, Apollo, and Poseidon.

It is intended to complete the work next year by the issue of a volume dealing with the worship of Dionysos, Hermes, and minor deities, while the same or another volume will deal with hero-worship; and we venture to congratulate Dr. Farnell on the approaching completion of a treatise which is indispensable to every student of religion, history, and art.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

PLAYS OF ARISTOPHANES.

The Frogs of Aristophanes. Edited by T. G. TUCKER. Macmillan, 1906. Pp. lix + 276. 3s. 6d.

The Birds of Aristophanes. Edited by B. B. ROGERS. Bell, 1906. Pp. xcii + 305. 10s. 6d.

Mr. TUCKER'S *Frogs* is an excellent school edition, and more than that, full of knowledge and judiciously done. He is equally careful to dwell on the meanings of words, to bring out points of Greek syntax, to set forth the rules of the metres, what is known as to the

antiquities, what is guessed as to the jokes. The Introduction takes first 'the date and motives' of the play, then proceeds to maintain that the 'mysteries' more or less embodied in it are the lesser Mysteries of Athens, not the Greater Mysteries of Eleusis. Here may be recognised an article contributed by him to Vol. xviii of this *Review*. There follow two sections on the language and metres of comedy and on 'some features of the comic style,' which young Aristophanists will find extremely serviceable, and a concluding section on the text. The commentary is copious and to the point, even if it does not always recommend itself to the reader's judgment. It contains a considerable amount of new matter in the way of suggestions for explaining, occasionally even for emending, the text, though in textual matters the editor is as a rule conservative. I am sorry that in 83 he puts forward anything so fanciful as ἀπολιπόν μ' ὁ-ίχεται, on the model of W. G. Clark's unhappy βρετετέτας in *Knights* 32. In 957 his conjecture ἔριν (for ἐρᾶν) τεχνάζειν may be right, though in 1028 ἐχάρην γοῶν ἡνίκα γ' ἦν εἰκοῖς περί is assuredly not so, and his small changes in 1130 (οἷδε πάντα γ' ἐστὶ ταῦτ') and 1305 (τοῦτον for τοῦτον) seem improvements. 320 he adopts the variant δι' ἀγορᾶς for the common Διαγόρας, 168 he understands ἐπὶ τοῦτ' ἔρχεται to mean 'is on that errand,' i.e. to visit Hades. There is however no mention of Hades anywhere in the immediate context and τοῦτο should refer to τὰ στρώματα λαμβάνειν. 685 he will hardly upset the usual translation of κἂν ἴσαι γέγονται in favour of 'even if fair terms are got.' 790 he fails to do justice to the difficulty of making ἐκεῖνος refer to Sophocles (κάκείνος ὑπεχώρησεν). 607 (οὐκ ἐς κόρακας μὴ πρόσσιτον) the idea that ἐς κόρακας is a curse by the way needs better parallels. 891 ἰδῶται θεοί and 459 ἰδιώτας still remain strange. 1114 I concur in thinking a book of the words improbable, but a 'book of military exercises and tactics' seems improbable too as an explanation. 1055 it is surely wrong to condemn the ordinary translation of ἔστι διδάσκαλος ὅστις φράζει, ὅστις being due to ἔστι (ἔστιν ὅστις).

The *Birds* is another part of B. B. Rogers'

many-volumed and much appreciated *Aristophanes* with text and commentary and critical notes and verse translation complete. It is indeed remarkable that two old Oxford men, not divided by more than ten or twelve years of University standing, should have independently taken in hand, and now one may say achieved, so big a piece of work as the respective editions of Blaydes and Rogers. In the preface of the new part not less than sixty pages are devoted to identifying the various birds mentioned in the play and to the classical lore belonging to them, evidently a labour of love. The editor argues from certain details that the play was taken in hand soon after the composition of the *Peace*, or at least while Aristophanes had the *Peace* and its contents very fresh in memory, although seven years elapsed between their respective first performances. The preface also contains a long note by that high authority, Mr. Christopher Welch, on the music of the αἶλός as representing the song of the nightingale. In text and notes Mr. Rogers is, as usual, tenacious of tradition. He will not even allow us to alter *Peisthetaerus* to a more plausible form. In various passages usually regarded now as corrupt he is satisfied with the reading of the MSS. In 16 for instance he explains ὅς ὄρνις ἐγένετ' ἐκ τῶν ὀρνέων as a jocose reference to plumage obtained from the bird-market, as though the metamorphosis of Tereus were a mere pretence. But of this there is no sort of hint elsewhere in the play, and it is likely enough that ἐκ τῶν ὁ is an accidental repetition from 13, where the words occur in the same part of the line. In 167 foll. Mr. Rogers clings again to the traditional words (τοὺς πετομένους κ.τ.λ.), though one knows that he would never have written anything so awkward himself. In a note of considerable length he defends 753-4 against what I had to say about it in *C.R.* xv. 388, but I venture to think the defence insufficient, especially as it takes no account of the fact that on his view the ἡμᾶς of 754 are not the ἡμῖν of 756 and 758: 'if anyone would like to live with birds (in general), let him come to us (in particular), for with birds (in general)' etc. On the other hand his citation of *Theogony* 116 and 127 satisfies me that 701 is right

and γένετο practically a quotation from Hesiod. 725 he suggests ἦρος ἐν ὥραις for αἶραις ὥραις: 777 puts a comma after ποικίλα, understanding φῦλα with it (is this good Greek?): and 718 makes (in his translation) γάμον ἀνδρός mean a friend's marriage, which the general drift will hardly allow. 1681 he retains βαδίζειν 'let us migrate hence, like the swallows': but is migration at all apposite to the topic of Basileia?

Mr. Rogers' translation of the parabasis will as a whole hold its own with others, though it has nothing quite so good as the first few lines of Frere's. But no translation that I know of is very satisfactory. Even Mr. Swinburne's hand, if one may say so, here loses something of its cunning. I quote the beginning of Mr. Rogers' rendering:

Ye men who are dimly existing below, who
perish and fade as the leaf,
Pale, woebegone, shadowlike, spiritless folk,
life feeble and wingless and brief,

Frail castings in clay, who are gone in a day,
like a dream full of sorrow and sighing,
Come listen with care to the Birds of the
air, the ageless, the deathless, who flying
In the joy and the freshness of Ether are
wont to muse upon wisdom undying.

We will tell you of things transcendental; of
Springs and of Rivers the mighty upheaval;

The nature of Birds; and the birth of the
Gods; and of Chaos and Darkness
primeval.

When this ye shall know, let old Prodicus
go and be hanged without hope of
reprieval.

The anapaestic exposition 462 foll. is well rendered, as are the trochaics of the parodos scene, the choral lyrics that rather mechanically separate the later episodes, and the songs of the hoopoe.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

ROME AND GREECE.

Rome et la Grèce de 200 à 146 avant Jésus-Christ. Par G. COLIN. Ouvrage couronné par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Svo. Pp. 684. Paris: Fontemoing, 1905. Fr. 16.

THIS book is practically a history of Philhellenism among the Romans. It is curious that there should have been such a divergence of opinion on this subject. Mommsen attributes all the Roman dealings with Greece to a love of ideal justice, not to say to a naïve sentimentality; Duruy supposes the Romans to have followed from the beginning a Machiavellian policy of hypocrisy and greed; Hertzberg thinks that they started with good intentions, which gradually changed to a programme of selfish conquest. M. Colin sets himself the task of finding out the truth about Philhellenism. In this he has succeeded. Moreover, his results are presented in so attractive a form and style, that the book may be recom-

mended for the pleasure of the reading as much as for its historic worth. The only criticism I would make is that it is a little too long.

The conclusion to which the author comes is that Philhellenism was a force that grew, developed, decayed, revived. This fact, apparently so simple, he has been the first to grasp properly. It is impossible to reduce the whole of Roman policy towards Greece to one single formula. Attempts to do so end in confusion and contradiction, simply because the conduct of the Romans varied at different times. M. Colin distinguishes three periods—those of Flamininus, of Cato, and of Scipio Aemilianus. During the first, the Romans, intoxicated by the charm of Hellenic civilization, which they were just beginning to know, showed a most marked favouritism to the Greeks in their political dealings: this is the great period of flourishing Philhellenism. Unfortunately a closer acquaintance with the lamentable state

of contemporary Greece brought about a rapid disillusionment, and from the beginning of the Aetolo-Syrian till after the third Macedonian War, harshness, selfishness, and contempt were the dominant notes in the Roman policy. The very violence of this reaction in turn led to a revival of Philhellenism, but in a critical and subdued spirit, and so it continued to exist. M. Colin has cleverly pointed out how the Romans were both rapidly disillusioned, and while retaining their admiration for the literature and art of Greece—in fact for the whole of her past history—they consequently had a very wholesome contempt for the actual Greeks whom they met. On the cover of the book there stand the damning words addressed by Caesar to the Athenians: ‘ποσάκις δὲ ὑμᾶς ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀπολλυμένους ἢ δόξα τῶν προγόνων περισώσει;’ (App. B. c. II. 88.)

M. Colin brings forward the idea that Rome systematically separated Macedonia and the Asiatic Greeks from the European Greeks, and that only to the latter did she accord such especially favourable treatment. The evidence, however, does not seem particularly strong. For instance, it is not true that Rome inflicted the same treatment on Carthage and on Philip (p. 73). Carthage in 201 B.C. became a vassal-ally bound to furnish war vessels, as is clear from L. xxxvi. 4. 9, 42. 1. 2; xlii. 56. 6. 7. Philip was certainly under no obligation to furnish troops: it is possible to show that he was rather well treated by Rome after 196 B.C., probably owing to fear of Antiochus. One misses in this book a reference to the difficult, but important passage in L. xxxiii. 35. 4, which defines Philip's relations with Rome after Cynoscephalae.

M. Colin has been peculiarly successful in pointing out that Philhellenism flourished among the aristocracy and not among the plebs of Rome. At first the novelty of things Greek attracted all classes indiscriminately, but the lower classes never advanced far in the knowledge or the love of Hellenism, and most of their subsequent enlightenment filtered down to them through the aristocracy. If anything, the author has not pressed sufficiently far the gulf between nobles and

plebs. He represents the period after Zama as one of great military, commercial, and artistic activity. This is true—but only of the upper classes. Among the middle and lower classes it was one of the most profound exhaustion. Worn out by seventeen years of disastrous struggle, the mass of the Roman people emphatically vetoed any new fighting, and they were only persuaded by the Senate with the very greatest difficulty to pass the necessary decree for the second Macedonian War. M. Colin has not observed that the passing of this decree was only elicited from the Comitia by a bribe: it was conceded by the Senate that *only volunteers were to serve*.¹ L. xxxi. 8. 6: ‘Sulpicio, cui novum ac magni nominis bellum decretum erat, permissum, ut de exercitu, quem P. Scipio ex Africa deportasset, voluntarios, quos posset, duceret; invitum ne quem militem veterem ducendi ius esset.’ (Cf. xxxii. 3.) This explains the small number (6) of the legions raised in 200 B.C., a fact to which M. Colin himself draws attention. Moreover, he notices that only volunteers served during the third Macedonian War (p. 411). Apparently the bribe had to be repeated both for that and the intervening Syrian War. The fact was that to the lower, especially to the farming classes, war spelt ruin, to the upper, fame and fortune. Hence the immense and ever-widening breach between the economic status of the rich nobles and the poor plebs, a phenomenon which M. Colin calls ‘la grande nouveauté dans l'histoire intérieure de Rome au début du 11^e siècle’ (p. 321.) Doubtless in time the plebs themselves began to look on war as a profitable trade: the division of the rich spoil among the volunteer soldiers must have had a most deteriorating effect, and I refer the reader to some remarks on p. 262 of the book for the way in which the private soldier combined commerce with fighting. But at any rate in 200 B.C. the mass of the Roman people were most decidedly averse to a new war. M. Colin has noticed this, but has not shown how the opposition was disarmed.

Perhaps he might also have laid greater emphasis upon the lack of unity within the aristocracy itself. Not only when they were

¹ This fact was pointed out to me by Prof. Reid.

in power did the Catonic and other Antihellenist parties influence the policy of Rome: as an influential minority they must at any time have hampered the dealings of Flaminius and the Philhellenes. In talking of periods of Philhellenism and Antihellenism, it is necessary to remember that the same men with the same opinions existed throughout, and that only a certain proportion in each case would be carried along by the tide of popular opinion. On the whole, one would not be far wrong in saying that the policy which forced on the second Macedonian War was dictated by a handful of greedy, selfish, and determined men, bent on a successful military career, who, wringing from the Comitia a bare consent to their doings, proceeded to collect volunteers and engineered the whole affair according to their own ideas. These ideas of the military aristocracy could not be better illustrated than by M. Colin's own remarks on pp. 525 and 527. In speaking of Licinius Lucullus in Spain, he says: 'Son prédécesseur ne lui a rien laissé à faire; mais lui ne l'entend pas ainsi. Il est parti avec l'espoir de s'illustrer à son tour: ensuite, et surtout, *il est pauvre, il veut s'enrichir*, et il se persuade que sa province abonde en or et en argent: *il lui faut donc sa guerre*.' This horrible lust of warfare would not have been so often condoned had not the commercial classes seen on every new battle-field a new sphere for business. Hence the destruction of Carthage and Corinth, and the elevation of Delos to a free port. M. Colin has here not only developed the arguments of Mommsen, but has made a most excellent use of inscriptions, and, indeed, the thorough use of such evidence throughout this book is

one of its greatest merits. (See pp. 141, 263, 336, 635, 639, &c.)

There is no index, and the detailed table of contents by no means replaces it, as the author seems to suppose. An index and a conspectus of quotations should not have been omitted. The system of marginal headings is excellent.

Concerning some minor points: on p. 85 'Tyndarides, roi de Sparte,' should surely read, 'Tyndarides, rois de Sparte.'

On p. 623 M. Colin does not seem to have discounted largely enough for the anti-democratic prejudices of Polybius in his estimate of the Achaean leaders.

On p. 71 and *passim* M. Colin talks of the 'tribute' paid by Philip and Antiochus to Rome. This is surely an inaccuracy. Neither Philip in 196, nor Antiochus in 187, approached the position of tribute-paying vassals. What they paid was in the nature of a war indemnity, spread over a certain number of years. Besides this, they had to pay a smaller sum and supply a certain amount of corn to the troops in the field, before they were permitted to address the Roman Senate on the subject of peace—*i.e.* they had to buy the *indutiae* necessary for this purpose. This was a very usual Roman practice.

Finally, I notice that M. Colin has been unable to offer any more reasonable explanation of Cato's extraordinary change of attitude *re* Hellenism than the old and difficult one of his having decided to swim with the times.

These are small blemishes in a very interesting, original, and seasonable book.

LOUISE E. MATTHAEI.

LIFE AND LETTERS IN THE FOURTH CENTURY.

Les derniers écrivains profanes: les Panégyristes—Ausone—le Querolus—Rutilius Namatianus. PICHON, RENÉ. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1906. Svo. Pp. ix + 322. Fr. 7.50.

THIS volume is the first of a series projected by its author under the general title of

Études sur l'histoire de la littérature latine dans les Gaules. It is thus at once a contribution towards the general history of life and letters in the fourth century, and an essay towards a more detailed and specific treatment of a particular branch of that subject—the special development, that is, which life and letters took in the Gallic

provinces under the influence of what can already be distinguished as a national temper and genius. In the wider sphere, M. Pichon is already known as the author of a study of Lactantius, and of the philosophical and religious movement under the reign of Constantine. He now proposes to devote himself to work on the history of Latin literature in Gaul. The subject is one of great interest, and of the first importance in its bearing on the beginnings of French literature, and the development of French civilisation and nationality. Two volumes are announced to follow this one, the first on the early Christian writers, the second on the writers of the fifth century. The field is one which has already been fully explored. French scholars have been engaged on it continuously ever since Ampère, and have brought to it the patriotic ardour, the quick intelligence, and the fine critical sense characteristic of their nation. Little perhaps remains in the way either of discovery or of elucidation. But it is still possible to recombine facts, to set them in a newer or more striking light, and to apply to them the continually increasing experience accumulated in the progress of knowledge and the synthesis of history. This is the task to which M. Pichon has addressed himself.

There can be no doubt that when we reach the fourth century the history of Latin literature, if it is not to be a somewhat barren and uninteresting study, must follow that course of political and social development which was decentralising the whole fabric of the Empire and converting the provinces into nations, each with a separate individuality and a life and genius of its own. This tendency is indeed marked at a much earlier period. We see it clearly at work in the African school of the second century, even in the Spanish school of the first. But Rome was then still the centre of thought and life for the whole Empire. It is not until after the long anarchy of the third century—a period in which Latin literature was almost extinct—that the provincial literatures begin to take substantive form. The establishment of provincial capitals and the institution of putting the headship of the Empire into commission, steps in which Diocletian rather accepted obvious necessities

than initiated reasoned changes, started the fourth century on lines in which we already begin to trace the growth of the Western kingdoms and the germs of the mediaeval family of nations. In the Gallic provinces more particularly we begin now to feel the want of a common name for what is becoming a common nationality. In dealing with Eumenius of Autun or Ausonius of Bordeaux or Hilarius of Poitiers we instinctively and rightly feel that we are dealing with French authors.

The authors and works dealt with by M. Pichon in this volume require the French lightness of touch, and a large amount of that national pride or sympathy which makes any nation willing to make the most of its own beginnings, to render them attractive to a larger circle than that of professional scholars or specialising historians. Few people will ever read the *Panegyrici*; nor is there any reason why they should. Ausonius retains a precarious reputation on the strength of a single charming poem, and Rutilius has perhaps a more secure place in literature through a few imperishable lines in which, with a strange and unaccountable felicity, he paid to Rome, from the lips of a stranger and at a time when the Goth and Hun had already trodden her streets, a more complete and more splendid eulogy than all which had been lavished on her for ages by her own illustrious children. The *Querolus*, although the only extant Latin comedy besides those of Plautus and Terence, is to all intents and purposes unknown. It was first printed in 1564, and again in 1595. After that (except that it appears as an appendix to a seventeenth-century edition of Plautus) it lay wholly neglected until resuscitated about 1830. In this country a few people know of its existence from an article on it by Peacock the novelist (whose knowledge of the byways of the classics was extensive and peculiar) which appeared in *Fraser's Magazine* in 1852 and is reprinted in Peacock's collected works. In its native country, however, M. Louis Havet has lately made it the subject of acute and careful study, and has reinstated it as a document of importance in literary history, as well as a comedy of not inconsiderable literary merit.

St. Jerome, when he named *ubertas* and

nilor, without the Roman *gravitas*, as the specific quality of Gallic writers, laid his finger on what was then and is now characteristic of the national genius. It is so in their scholarship and criticism as well as in their creative literature. A book of this length and with this subject would certainly if written by any but a Frenchman have been unreadable. As it is, it is not only readable but full of interest. It would be unfair to look in it for profound originality or penetrating insight. 'Les Gaulois,' the author says justly, 'sont plus souples que forts, plus capables de s'assimiler les inventions d'autrui que d'en créer par eux-mêmes': and in dealing with them, something of their own spirit is required for sympathetic treatment. M. Pichon has a light touch, and that sympathy with his authors which is essential if they are to be made to yield all that they have of real value. Nothing could be better than the 35 pages of his introductory chapter, the subject of which is sufficiently indicated by its title, 'La littérature gallo-romaine et les origines de l'esprit français.' I cannot deny myself the pleasure of quoting two passages from it. In the first he is speaking of the 'Gallo-Roman' literature of the fourth century as a marked and individual type of Latin.

'Ainsi, dans l'éloquence d'apparat, quelle différence entre les *Florides* d'Apulée et les Panégyriques d'Eumène ou de Claudius Mamertinus! Là, des causeries fantaisistes et décousues, pleines de hors-d'œuvre capricieux, brillantes dans le détail, imaginées, curieusement travaillées, avec une affectation perpétuelle d'esprit précieux et de style artiste: ici, des harangues solennelles et régulières, d'un ton soutenu, d'une allure noble, uniforme, tout à fait "académique." De même, dans la littérature théologique, Saint Hilaire est moins emporté que Tertulien, moins compliqué que Saint Augustin, moins tourmenté que Saint Jérôme; sa lucidité et sa précision dans la controverse, sa loyauté dans la polémique, son horreur des innovations capricieuses et des raffinements métaphysiques, son invincible besoin d'y voir clair, sa ferme et fière dignité dans ses relations avec ses collègues ou avec le pouvoir impérial, en font déjà, treize cents ans d'avance, un vrai prélat gallican.'

In the other, he is toying with, before reluctantly dismissing, the claim which French scholars have a natural and all but invincible tendency to make for some special share of national ownership in the great classical poets and prose authors of the Cisalpina.

'Assurément il serait tentant de rattacher à la littérature gallo-romaine des auteurs comme le Véronais Catulle, le Mantouan Virgile, le Padouan Tite-Live, le Cômâis Pline le Jeune. Ainsi il suffirait de prendre Catulle, non pas lorsqu'il s'occupe à traduire ou à adapter des poèmes alexandrins, mais lorsque, cédant à sa fantaisie spontanée, il écrit des vers d'amour ou des vers satiriques. Les premiers ont, comme dit Fénelon, une "simplicité passionnée," une franchise précise et directe, une souplesse aisée, qui contraste avec la gaucherie pédantesque de Properce et la virtuosité subtile d'Ovide: ce n'est pas en vain qu'on les a si souvent comparés à ceux de Musset, le plus français, le plus parisien de nos poètes lyriques. Quant à ses épigrammes, leur finesse (au moins relative) et leur naturel se distinguent de l'exagération bouffonne et triviale de celles de Martial comme la plaisanterie française s'oppose au grotesque ou au picaresque espagnol.'

That *au moins relative* came just in time; and to our more detached English outlook it is Propertius rather than Catullus who is the analogue or prototype of Musset. But the whole point of view in this and similar passages throughout the volume, the whole way of feeling and, in the expressive French term, 'savouring' his authors—for they are to him living people and actual fellow-countrymen—makes M. Pichon's book always interesting and sometimes really illuminating. It is a pleasure to look forward to its continuation, perhaps with the firmer handling that comes of experience, and some retrenchment of that diffuseness which is at present his undoubted defect, as it tends to be, with a few illustrious exceptions, that of French scholars who deal with the literature of scholarship: *ut ubertatem Gallici nitoremque sermonis gravitas Romana condit.*

J. W. MACKAIL.

WOMAN IN ANTIQUITY.

Woman, her Position and Influence in Ancient Greece and Rome and among the Early Christians. By JAMES DONALDSON, M.A., LL.D., Principal of the University of St. Andrews. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1907. 8vo. Pp. viii + 278. 5s. net.

PRINCIPAL DONALDSON has written a very good book on a topic where most writers are either pedantic or trifling. He has been content to take a moderate and reasonable view in each part of a wide subject, and in spite of this moderation the general effect of his work is somewhat revolutionary. The explanation is simple enough. Dr. Donaldson writes about the women of Greece and Rome as if they lived and breathed. '*When I can touch the body of books by night and by day, and when they can touch my body back again, when a university course convinces like a slumbering woman and child convince . . . I intend to reach them my hand.*' Walt Whitman might have reached his hand to some of the women who live in Dr. Donaldson's pages.

They live because Dr. Donaldson recognises the limitations of nearly all literature and tradition of the great past, books being written mainly about men and for men and—one may say—always by men. But look at circumstances, situations, from a womanly standpoint. Helen moves meekly, says Dr. Donaldson, and with propriety through experiences for which the *force majeure* of Eros and Paris are excuse enough, and spends the evening of her years universally respected at Sparta. 'She did nothing to excite Paris. She would have been happier with Menelaus' (p. 13). Religiously conservative Athens was almost the only place where women kept up this tradition of meekness. Dr. Donaldson, however, exaggerates the seclusion of women in Athenian houses. They were not imprisoned in a separate part of the house, for which indeed there was not accommodation: they merely withdrew from the space against the door

when a stranger came. In this respect of seclusion Athens was nevertheless exceptional. The freedom of Spartan women was nearer the average of Greek life and practice.

When we pass to Rome, Sparta furnishes the nearer parallel. And here Dr. Donaldson works out a theory which has some important and at the same time novel consequences. The Roman people start with an exceptionally high estimate of woman. Her position is improved by legislation and change of custom until the coming of Christianity, and then she is thrust into the background again. At first glance this looks like an exaggeration. But, curiously enough, the most impressive proofs of this theory may be found in writers upon whom Dr. Donaldson has not drawn. Ihering dwells on the fact that the Aryans gave a dowry to their daughters upon their marriage, so that they entered upon their new life possessed of a certain independent status, and in spite of the *coemptio*, he traces a similar primitive usage at Rome. On the other hand, the Greeks and Germans bought their wives, *i.e.* treated them as chattels (*Evolution of the Aryans*, 28). Hence the ground is already prepared for the statement of Sir Henry Maine that, 'led by their theory of Natural Law, the (Roman) juriconsults had evidently . . . assumed the equality of the sexes as a principle of their code of equity' (*Ancient Law*, 154). But Christianity tended 'from the very first to narrow this remarkable liberty' (*ib.* 156). At any rate, this coincidence of various writers shows that we have here a view of ancient society which cannot be hastily dismissed. Not only so, in the earliest form of the Christian society, women held office, as they had held it in the pagan systems. The four daughters of Philip preached (*Acts* xxi. 9). St. Paul himself contemplates the same practice, for he makes regulations for the women who preached (*I. Cor.* xi. 5). The woman-hating spirit that forbade the offices of religion to half the world, seems to have involved a breach both with the practice of antiquity and with the

first usages of the Church. It is dangerous in England to speak freely about these matters. Few, however, can read this interesting book without reconsidering some conventional opinions. Roman ideas of marriage had a good effect upon the happiness and morals of woman (120). Hence there is no ground to believe that the ancient world was utterly corrupt when Christianity arose (113). Moreover, the position of women was lower in the third century A.D. than two centuries earlier (148). I cannot agree, however, that this change was mainly due to the teaching

of St. Paul, for the famous passage in which woman is exhorted to learn from others with entire submissiveness (I. *Tim.* ii. 12) occurs in a document which in its present form is scarcely Pauline. Hence it is not permitted to refer the decline in woman's position to the immediate teaching and example of Jesus and Paul. The Christian mob of Alexandria offended against the classical tradition and apostolic teaching alike when they murdered Hypatia not only as a philosopher, but as a woman who taught.

FRANK GRANGER.

DRAMATIC CONTESTS IN ATHENS.

Urkunden dramatischer Aufführungen in Athen mit einem Beitrage von GEORG KAIBEL herausgegeben von ADOLF WILHELM. (Sonderschriften des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes in Wien, Band VI.) Wien: Alfred Hölder, 1906. Pp. 279. 11½" × 9". 68 illustrations in the text.

STUDENTS of Greek literature have long been awaiting a new and definitive publication of the series of inscriptions dealing with the dramatic contests at Athens. These are, it is true, collected in Vol. II of the *Inscriptiones Graecae* and in Navarre's *Dionysos*, but in recent years much has been contributed by Capps, Reisch, and others to the arrangement and interpretation of the fragments, and it has been felt that no successful attempt could be made to write the history of the Greek drama without an accurate revision of the texts and a full commentary which should embody the results of the work done by various students and published in scattered books and periodicals. For this task Professor Wilhelm was fitted as, perhaps, no other living scholar. His extraordinary power of deciphering and restoring Greek inscriptions, together with his unrivalled knowledge of the treasures of the Epigraphic Museum at Athens, marked him out for such a work, and in undertaking and completing it he has rendered a great service not merely to epi-

graphists but to the far wider circle of those who are interested in the history of one of the most characteristic and important branches of Greek literature. From beginning to end the book impresses the reader as the work of a great master. The accuracy and minuteness with which the stones are examined and described, the brilliancy of many of the restorations suggested, the wealth and cogency of the arguments used either for constructive or destructive purposes, the command of the whole literature, ancient and modern, bearing on the subject, the sharp distinction drawn between the possible, the probable, and the certain—these are features which characterize all Wilhelm's work, and are specially emphasized here only because unhappily there still exist those who regard epigraphy as largely a matter of guess-work, as a superior species of 'missing word competition.' But the author has done more than merely re-edit and re-arrange the known texts, illustrating them by a commentary, the fulness of which leaves nothing to be desired: he has also published a number of fragments hitherto unknown, and has thus added very considerably to the extent and value of the series.

The book is not, indeed, faultless, but the few mistakes that occur are for the most part typographical errors of spelling or accentuation which will cause no confusion. On p. 125 (l. 7 from end) we must read 'kurz' for 'lang,' on p. 170 l. 6 'sechste' for

'fünfte,' on p. 271 *Χολαργεύς* for *Χολαρεύς*: the misplacement of the figure 10 on p. 107 has caused even the author to slip, (*ib.* l. 2). But the only serious error we have noted is in the Index (p. 276, col. ii., last 13 lines) where Kleomachos occurs twice and the alphabetical arrangement of the words from Kleomachos to Lysikrates is seriously at fault. Two further criticisms may perhaps be added, though they deal with questions of personal taste and not of scientific accuracy. The highly glazed paper employed, while rendering possible the admirable photographic reproductions contained in the book, adds considerably to its weight and to the difficulty of reading it by artificial light, while the custom of inserting references to modern literature in the body of the text and undistinguished either by italics or, in most cases, by brackets is apt to hamper the reader though it improves the look of the page.

After a brief summary of the chief contributions made to the study by previous writers, Wilhelm discusses in chapter i the eleven extant fragments of the list of victories won at the Dionysia both in tragedy and in comedy (*I. G.* ii 971). Three of these were hitherto unpublished, including one (*g*) of great interest, giving part of the lists for 341-0 and 340-39 and naming the poet Astydamos and the famous tragic actor Thettalus. The other two (*k, l*) are quite insignificant. Chapter ii contains a full account of the fourteen surviving fragments of the *διδασκαλῖαι*, including one (p. 43) discovered in 1901 and not previously published: these deal with tragedy and comedy, the Dionysia, and Lenaea, and range from 420 to about 160 B.C. The third and longest chapter treats of the thirty-nine fragments which we possess of the *Siegerlisten* (*I. G.*

ii 977),—lists of names of poets and actors, both tragic and comic, with figures denoting the number of victories each had won whether at the Dionysia or at the Lenaea. Seven of these fragments are published here for the first time, of which *e, h, r, and s* are the most important and interesting. This list, first inscribed about 270 B.C., was continued down into the second century, and must originally have extended to some 50 or 60 columns: it is written on the inner side of an Ionic epistyle, but the form of the building to which it belonged cannot be restored with any certainty from the extant fragments. The same list is further discussed in chapter iv, which has a melancholy interest as being one of the last pieces of work on which Professor Georg Kaibel was engaged before his death. The rest of the book is of less importance. Chapters v and vi deal with a series of texts, some of them previously unpublished, bearing more or less directly upon the main subject: the most interesting of these are three fragments of a list set up at Rome recording the titles of comedies which won the first, second, third, or fourth prize, arranged under the names of the various comic poets (*I. G.* xiv 1097, 1098, 1098a). Finally, after a long and important chapter of Addenda giving the results of the latest discussions on the subject, there is an excellent—if, perhaps, somewhat too elaborate—Index, very materially increasing the value of the book.

Author and publisher are alike to be congratulated upon having produced a work which will be indispensable to everyone who undertakes a serious study of the history of Athenian drama, and will serve as a model of what epigraphical work may and should be.

M. N. TOD.

ROMAN EGYPT.

La Serie dei Prefetti di Egitto. I. Da Ottaviano Augusto a Diocleziano (A. 30 Av. Cr.—A.D. 288.) By LUIGI CANTARELLI. Roma: Accademia dei Lincei. 1906. Pp. 78. 5 lire.

PROF. CANTARELLI's book is published among the memoirs of the Accademia dei Lincei. The first part, which is now before us, covers the first three centuries of the Empire: the later part will continue the tale of the

Roman prefects of Egypt down to the Arab conquest of 642 A.D. The author's plan is clear and simple, and excellently carried out. A short introduction dealing mainly with previous attempts to construct a similar series is followed by a list of the prefects in chronological order. To each name is appended evidence of identification and where necessary short notes on obscure points of history or chronology raised by the authorities. The whole forms an admirable framework for the study of Roman Egypt.

For the 318 years with which this part deals we have the names of eighty-eight prefects, excluding some nine whose claims have been found wanting. This would give each prefect an average tenure of three and a half years. Where the sequence is most perfect we find seven prefects in eighteen years (under Pius and Marcus) and ten in seventeen years (under Marcus and Commodus). This average seems to have been maintained through the third century, in the first century the usual duration of a prefecture seems to have been longer. Putting these data together we may infer that fully a third of the names of prefects are missing from our lists. We are therefore not in a position yet to mark precisely the effect of the developement of the Imperial system on the position of the prefect of Egypt. But it seems clear that the innovations of Hadrian affected in some measure the status of the prefecture. Tiberius kept C. Galerius at Alexandria for sixteen years: Avillius Flaccus for six. Vergilius Capito held office from 47-48 to 52 A.D.: Valerius Paulinus from 73 to 79, Sulpicius Similis from 107 to 112. One of Hadrian's prefects remained five and a half years: his last year of office and his retirement exactly coincide with the Emperor's visit to Egypt and his departure. From this time on the length of each prefecture becomes noticeably shorter, and the conclusion, that we may see in the

change the hand of Hadrian, seems probable and just. The new rule, if we may call it so, seems only to have been broken on special occasions when Egypt needed a strong hand. Thus Sempronius Liberalis (154-159) seems to have been specially commissioned to deal with brigandage and disturbances among the rural population and the nine years' prefecture of Subatianus Aquila (202-211) is no doubt connected with the severe policy which Septimius found it necessary to adopt in Egypt and which his son carried to extremes.

Egypt fortunately is a field where discoveries are still likely to be numerous and it is not past hope that a future edition of this valuable study may include a complete list of the prefects for three centuries at least. We might then arrive at a satisfactory answer to the most interesting question in Imperial history: how far was the continuity of the Civil Service preserved through the Palatine revolutions and military anarchy of the third century? It is unfortunate, though perhaps significant, that our information breaks down most completely just where it would be most valuable. Thus we have only one prefect ascribed (and that doubtfully) to the period of the Gordians, and for the darkest years in Roman History, the two decades from Philip to Gallienus we have only three names out of a possible ten.

It is much to be desired that scholars as competent as Prof. Cantarelli would take in hand the task of drawing up similar lists for all the provinces of the Empire. Even after Mommsen and Hirschfeld there are enormous lacunae to be filled. A series of volumes dealing with the personnel of the Roman civil and military services would be a great addition to our knowledge and would render possible the definitive history of the Imperial organization for which we are waiting.

G. M. YOUNG.

SHORT NOTICES

La Pianta di Roma dell' Anonimo Einsid-lense: dissertazione letta alla Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia. Dal Prof. CHR. HUELSEN. Rome, 1906.

I ONLY purpose to note here very briefly, for the benefit of students of Roman topography, the appearance of this important monograph, which will doubtless be critically reviewed at some future time. Its importance lies both in the facsimile colotype reproduction of the precious leaves of the Codex that contain the Itinerary, and in the first-rate notes which Huelsen, who collated the leaves in 1901, modestly offers as a supplement to Lanciani's exhaustive and 'masterly' commentary. It is accompanied, moreover, by a valuable attempt at a reconstruction of the plan which we must suppose accompanied the Itinerary. Huelsen bases his reconstruction on two mediaeval plans of iconographic character and of elliptical shape—the thirteenth century plan attached to a codex of the Vatican, and the plan within the large map of the world in the Library at Hanover. Instead of the elliptical shape, however, Huelsen adopts the circular as accommodating better all the monuments mentioned in the Itinerary. For this circular shape, moreover, he can adduce both monumental and literary evidence in the effigy of Rome, seated within a circle of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, and in the plan of Rome on a circular silver table which, according to Eginhard, belonged to Charles the Great.

E. S.

Geschichte der römischen Litteratur: von MARTIN SCHANZ. Erster Teil, erste Hälfte. Pp. vi + 362. (Third edition.) 1907. München: Oskar Beck. M. 7. Geb. M. 8. 80.

PROFESSOR SCHANZ'S *History of Latin Literature* is so generally recognized as the standard authority that a notice of it now might well be thought superfluous. But this first instalment of the new edition, which is correctly described on the title page as a

'ganz umgearbeitete und stark vermehrte Auflage,' is practically a new work, dealing with the literature of Rome from its beginnings to the end of the Social War. The period is now allotted a separate volume and the number of pages assigned to it is 362 in place of 151. It is high time for the work to be translated into English. Teuffel's History, its former rival, has at last been translated twice.

Dionysi Halicarnasensis Antiquitatum Romanarum quae supersunt edidit CAROLUS JACOBY. Vol. IV. (Books x to end.) 1905.¹ Leipzig: Teubner. Pp. xii + 336. M. 4.

THIS instalment of the new Teubner text of Dionysius has not appeared before its time. The last was published in 1891, and the preceding two in 1885 and 1888 respectively, while the Didot recension of Kiessling's Teubner edition, of which the present editor does not think too highly (p. 27. l. 14 'recepit Prout neglegenter ut solet'), saw the light in 1886. We may hope that the 'multae causae' of delay as to which the preface says 'hoc loco afferre consilium non est' will permit of the publication of the promised indices within a more reasonable period. This Teubner text improves in more than one particular upon its predecessor. It is better printed, its critical apparatus (not always as clear as it might be) is fuller and is placed at the foot of the page, and recent suggestions for the improvement of the text have been collected with German, that is to say, with laudable diligence. Dr. Jacoby's own proposals are, however, with hardly an exception, either trivial or mistaken, and they certainly provide no justification for the *stultae* or *stultissime*s of which he is so liberal to the scholars from whose corrections he happens to dissent. To take two examples.

¹ This is the date on the title page, but the book does not appear to have been published till late in 1906.

At the beginning of xi. 58 he changes *τοιαῦτα τοῦ Κανολήϊου* . . . *λέγοντος* to *τ. Γαίου Κ.* because in 57. 2 we have *παρελθὼν εἰς ἐξ αὐτῶν Γάιος Κανολήϊος*: which is much as if he should insist upon emending the mention of his name just above by the insertion of 'Karl' before 'Jacoby', because 'Carolus' stands in the preface to this notice. Again in x. 53. 3 *sq.* (p. 96) at a place where within four pages *stulte* is four times dealt out to Cobet Hertlein and Smit, we have the following account of the effects of a pestilence put into the mouth of Dionysius: *οἱ μὲν ἀπ' ὀλιγωρίας τοῦ καλοῦ, οἱ δὲ τὰπιτήδεια οὐκ ἔχοντες πολλοὺς μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὑπονόμοις τῶν στενωπῶν φέροντες ἐρρίπτουν τῶν ἀπογενομένων, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι πλείους εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐνέβαλλον, ἀφ' ὧν τὰ μέγιστα ἐκακοῦντο πρὸς τὰς ἀκτὰς καὶ τὰς ἡϊόνας. ἐκκυμαιομένων γὰρ τῶν σωματῶν (of the bodies carried out by the currents) βαρεῖα καὶ δυσώδης προσπίπτουσα καὶ τοῖς ἔτι ἐρρωμένοις ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος ἀποφορὰ ταχεῖας ἔφερε τοῖς σώμασι τὰς τροπὰς.* Previous editors had endeavoured to bring the shores and banks into connexion with the currents: our editor says 'ego post *ἡϊόνας* interpunxi.' On the title page and elsewhere the editor still deifies his author in the genitive, but in pref. p. viii 'Dionysii librum undecimum' he slips into the usage of ordinary latinity.

J. P. P.

The Art of the Greeks. By H. B. WALTERS.

With 112 plates and 18 illustrations in the text. Methuen. 12s. 6d. net.

To write a good small book it is necessary to have written, or to be able to write, a good large one. Mr. Walters has done this for one department at least of Greek art, and those who read this book will not doubt that he could do something of the sort for others. It is written in just the right way to instruct and to interest the uninstructed: seizing upon salient points and main principles, it does not overwhelm the reader with details, but gives him a readable introduction to the several departments of its subject. These are: the Characteristics of Greek Art, the Beginnings, Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Vases, Terra-Cottas, Gems, Coins, and Metal

Work. I may make a few suggestions in detail. The Hagia Triadha vases are of such importance that mention of them might have been expected in the Cretan section; and the question, how far Attic art may have been indebted to Mycenaean would have repaid discussion. It seems to be implied that the Bronze House at Sparta was made of bronze (p. 22). Colouring is used with effect on the Sidon sarcophagi now at Constantinople, and Mr. Walters perhaps inclines too strongly to the opposite view for Athens (p. 63). The identification of the palace at Cnossos with the Labyrinth (p. 32) seems to me a hypothesis without foundation, as I have tried to show elsewhere: it is a pity to repeat it in a popular book as if it were unquestioned, and I do not think it is regarded seriously by the Italian explorers of Crete, who know as much of the facts as any one.

The accounts of technical processes are good and useful, and they are necessary to be known by any one who would form a true judgment of works of art. Lastly, the plates are all that could be desired. Every one will miss some favourite in such a book, but they are given here in so generous abundance that it would be ungrateful to ask for more: none are given that we could wish away. The price is very modest for so handsome a book.

W. H. D. R.

C. Iulii Caesaris Commentarii de Bello Civili, erklärt von Fr. KRANER u. Fr. HOFMANN, elfte vollständig umgearbeitete Auflage von Dr. HEINRICH MEUSEL, Direktor des Kölnischen Gymnasiums in Berlin. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1906. 8vo. Pp. xvi + 374. Five Maps and Plates. M. 3.40.

STUDENTS of Caesar who are familiar with Kraner and Hofmann's edition of the *Bellum Civile* will welcome the careful revision of this work now published by Dr. H. Meusel the well known compiler of the great *Lexicon Caesarianum*. The tenth edition having been published as long ago as 1890 there was abundant scope for enlargement and improvement, and Dr. Meusel

assures us that the text of the eleventh edition differs in nearly 500 places from that of its predecessor. He has made fuller use too of the great work of Baron Stöffel, to whose fruitful labours he pays a well deserved tribute in his preface. It is well known that the text of the *B. C.* is in a very unsatisfactory state, allowing much license of conjecture. Meusel's unrivalled knowledge of the MSS. of Caesar and of the vast mass of textual criticism that has accumulated of recent years makes this work one of primary importance for scholars. Amid such abundance of material one can only pick out a few points here and there for criticism or comment.

In i. 5 § 3 M. adopts Hug's *senatorum audacia* for the corrupt *latorum audacia*. I do not think the expression is a natural one nor does it explain the origin of the corruption. Probably some words have been lost. 14 § 1 he inserts *non* before *aperto* (following Rubenius) apparently assuming that the existing text means that Lentulus opened the inner treasury and then suddenly fled *leaving it open*. This would indeed have been 'ein lächerliches verhalten.' Why may we not suppose that Lentulus and his party took the ordinary precaution of closing the treasure chamber when they found it impossible to secure the contents? The text ought not to be wantonly altered because an editor lacks ordinary imagination. 19 § 2 I do not think M. has made out his case for the omission of *capere*. The phrase *consilium fugae capere constituit* is merely a little vague and roughly equivalent to 'determined to consider the question of flight.' 54 § 3 M. takes *carris iunctis devehit* to mean that each boat was carried on two wagons placed one behind the other. This may be right. One would like to know how and where this force crossed the Noguera Rivagorzana which lay in their way, and how they escaped the notice of Afranius' patrols. 61 § 1 M. expresses no view as to the method that Caesar adopted of diverting the stream. The question has been largely discussed by others. 85 § 6 M. follows other editors in condemning *tot tantasque classes paratas*. I beg to refer to my note on this passage. In Book ii on the difficult question as to the number of *aggeres* constructed by Trebonius in his siege of Massilia M. (in a special appendix) follows Stöffel as against Camille Jullian in assuming that there were two. I think he is right though Caesar's language is singularly inexact: it must however be remembered that the second book is largely based on the reports of Caesar's officers and not on personal observation. 18 § 5 the sense is improved by M.'s change of punctuation, the clause *qui . . . habuissent* being made to refer to *privatos*. 32 § 8 *vobis* is omitted after *clam* with a reference to Neue's Formenlehre, where it is stated that in the whole of Roman literature there is hardly any certain instance of *clam* as a preposition with the ablative.

In iii. 6 § 3 M. strangely allows the passive *arbitrantur* supporting it by four extremely doubtful passages in Cicero which he apparently accepts as genuine. The change to *quos . . . arbitrabatur* is very slight and the singular is actually found as a correction in one MS. 9 § 1 *discessu Liburnarum* is retained without remark. 31 § 4 M. takes *provincia* to be Syria not Asia, which he says is first mentioned in 32, but in the notes to 32 he inclines to think that Syria is the subject of that chapter also. The two chapters are concerned with Scipio and I have little doubt that in both *provincia* means Asia. 50 § 1 we find the doubtful assertion that *noctu* means 'by night' and *nocte* 'in the following night.' To suit this rule *noctu* in 54 § 1 is arbitrarily changed to *nocte*. 52 § 2 M. writes a lengthy note to correct the curious mistake made by previous editors who took *Germani* to be Pompey's men. The passage was correctly explained by Mr. Moberley and by myself independently some years ago but M. knows nothing of any English edition of Caesar. 53 § 3 there seems no reason for altering *una* to *viii* (= *octava*). Caesar merely emphasises the remarkable fact that *four* centuries out of *one* cohort were blinded. 82 § 4 the change of *praemiis* to *praeturiis* seems unnecessary, also the substitution of *qua* for each *qui* in 83 § 4. The use of *qui* does not in itself traverse the fact that each senator was supplied with three tablets: Caesar simply means that one set of senators would use the tablet of acquittal, another that of condemnation, etc. 91 § 3 M. after Fröhlich omits the impossible *eiusdem centuriae*. I have suggested that *centuriae* may have taken the place of an original *cohortis*.

On the difficult question of the site of the great battle M. wisely in my opinion follows the view of Baron Stöffel¹ who had carefully investigated the locality and was both a profound student of Caesar and also a military expert. M. admits the objections that have been raised but does not think them insuperable. That Caesar should with some inexactitude call the Enipeus a *rius* in 88 and a *flumen* in 97 need not surprise us much when we notice that his *rius* has *impeditae ripae* and is sufficiently wide or deep to protect his right flank. Clearly then in such a rugged country it might at one time be a raging torrent at another a thread of water, in other words it might at one time be a *rius* at another a *flumen*, though it is a mark of careless writing to use both expressions in the same narrative.

In conclusion I may add that this edition is equipped with an elaborate critical appendix in which difficulties that could not be dealt with adequately in the notes are discussed at some length, with a geographical index, a careful chronological table, and some clearly drawn maps and plans.

A. G. PESKETT.

¹ While writing this notice I regret to read of the death at the age of 88 of this distinguished officer and scholar.

C. Iulii Caesaris de bello civili commentarii, edidit H. MEUSEL. Berolini apud Weidmannos. 1906. 8vo. Pp. 116. M. 1.

THIS volume gives the text of Meusel's edition in a well bound compact and clearly printed form. In accordance with the general plan of the series to which it belongs it contains no preface or critical apparatus nor anything besides the text.

A. G. P.

Histoire Sommaire des Études d'épigraphie grecque. Par S. CHABERT. Pp. 168. 1906. Leroux.

THIS is a clearly written account of the history of Greek epigraphy and epigraphists, from the earliest times. It would be out of place to summarize its contents, because the book is itself a summary, and contains a great many facts and dates orderly arranged for the historian of scholarship. For the student of the inscriptions themselves there is nothing directly

bearing upon his work, but indirectly he may find help and profit from it.

Notes on Xenophon and others. By HERBERT RICHARDS, M.A. Pp. xii + 358. Grant Richards. 1907. 6s. net.

MR. RICHARDS has here republished a number of articles which have appeared in this *Review*; a few pages of notes on the *Cyropaedia* are printed for the first time. The notes have been long before the world of scholars, and in any case it would not be proper to review them in the journal where they appeared; but we offer a hearty welcome to the volume, expressing a hope that it may lead some one to read Xenophon outside the *Anabasis*. The 'others' are Herodotus, Plutarch, Pausanias, Erotici Graeci, Catullus, Propertius, Horace, Juvenal, and there are two papers on Attic Syntax.

OBITUARY

PROFESSOR TRAUBE, DIED JUNE, 1907.

LUDWIG TRAUBE, Professor of Mediaeval Literature at the University of Munich, was the son of a medical professor at Berlin. To readers of the *Classical Review* he is best known as the co-editor, with Dummmler, of the 'Carmina Latina Medii Aevi,' to historians as the reviser of the last edition of Wattenbach's 'Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter' and as a frequent contributor to the 'Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde.' But it is as a palaeographer that Traube will be missed the most. Indeed his death inflicts a quite irreparable loss on the twin studies of Latin Palaeography and Latin Textual Criticism. Had he been spared until he had completed his 'Palaeographische Forschungen,' we should have had a full and final account of Latin Manuscripts, their peculiarities of script, the scriptorium from which each has come, the mediaeval scholars whose influence they shew. But now, all this work will have to be done by others. And who is competent to take Traube's place? He had an unrivalled knowledge of the literary life of the Middle Ages, so that a mediaeval MS. of a

Latin classic appeared after his handling of it in quite a new light. The Berne MS. of Horace and Servius was shewn to be a copy of an original which emanated from the circle of Sedulius, that Irish scholar who, with a band of compatriots, visited the monastery libraries of Europe in the ninth century, imparting and receiving the best instruction of the time. The Berne Valerius Maximus was traced to Lupus, the learned Abbot of Ferrières, who had recorded in the margins the variants from a MS. of Julius Paris's Epitome. The Vatican Livy was revealed as a transcript made by certain monks of Tours from the Paris Puteanus. How different all this was from the lifeless accounts of these MSS. given in the prolegomena of previous editions! If any editor of Latin authors wishes to be ushered into this new world of study, the mediaeval transmission of Latin texts, let him read three papers of Traube published in the Proceedings of the Bavarian Academy, (1) 'O Roma Nobilis,' (2) 'Untersuchungen zur Ueberlieferungsgeschichte römischer Schriftsteller,' (3) 'Perona Scottorum.'

Traube's edition of the Rule of St. Bene-

dict has supplied a model of perfection, unhappily a quite unattainable model, for editors of the classics. Each stage in the history of the text, from the time it was first penned by St. Benedict down to the Carolingian transcriptions, is traced out with the most convincing fulness of detail, and the two different versions have their origin lucidly explained. Perhaps Livy is the Latin author for whom Traube did most. He has shewn us how many ancient MSS., and of what parts of the History, were transmitted to modern times, and he has clearly defined the problem for future editors of the different decades of the book. Catullus occupied a good deal of his attention, but he never, to my knowledge, carried out, or, at least, never committed to paper his intended reconstruction of the Verona archetype, and of the ancient edition whose text it embodies, by help of all the clues available to an expert in Latin Palaeography. The possibilities of this line of research, once that a complete knowledge should be attained of the peculiarities of Latin script, and especially of Abbreviations, he regarded as very great. And in his investigation of the various contractions of *autem* (in 'Neues Archiv,' vol. xxvi) and of *noster*, *vester* (in 'Perrona Scottorum'), he shewed the method of attaining this. These two investigations were based on an extraordinarily large collection of material, for Traube was, unlike most foreign scholars, wealthy enough to visit all the important libraries of Europe and make a prolonged study of their manuscript treasures. It has always seemed to me that some English University graduates might turn their love of Continental travel to good account, if they would spend some time in the Libraries of the towns through which they pass, and take a note of such details in the older minuscule MSS. (of the eighth and ninth

centuries). A very welcome addition to Traube's account of *autem* and *noster* (*vester*) would be statistics of the various contractions used for *qui* (in its various cases) and its derivatives (*quia*, *quom*, *quam*, *quoniam*, etc). These contractions are not capricious. When a large enough mass of details of their use has been accumulated, it will be easy to extract the clues which they furnish for the history of Latin texts.

Traube more than once expressed to me his admiration for Henry Bradshaw's gift of what he called 'sympathy with MSS.' Certainly Traube himself had this gift in a marked degree. Both of them had that loving admiration of the 'written page' to which Austin Dobson's lines give expression :

'Not as ours the books of yore,
Rows of type and nothing more.'

And Traube had, like Bradshaw, the power of communicating his enthusiasm to others. One of his pupils has worked out in detail his theory of the connexion of the Berne Valerius Maximus with Bishop Lupus (J. Snetz: 'ein Kritiker des Val. Maximus im 9 Jahrhundert,' Neuburg, 1901). Another is engaged on a favourite subject of the master's, those 'subscriptiones' in MSS. which preserve a record of the ancient editions of the Latin Classics. A third will see through the press the only available part of the projected 'opus magnum' on Latin Palaeography, the part dealing with Half-Uncial script. Traube's last piece of work, an account of the contractions of 'nomina sacra' (e.g. *ds* for 'deus') will appear as vol. ii. of his 'Quellen und Untersuchungen' in the latter part of this year.

W. M. LINDSAY.

ALBERT HARKNESS, PH.D., LL.D.

THE death of Prof. Albert Harkness of Brown University (U.S.), should not be passed unnoticed by British scholars. He was born on Oct. 6, 1822, and educated at

Brown University. After ten years of teaching in a school, he studied in Germany, and received the degree of Ph.D. in 1854, at the University of Bonn. On his return to

America in 1855, he was made Professor of Greek at Brown, and served until 1892, when he became Professor Emeritus. He published more than a score of text-books. Of his Latin grammar several hundred thousand copies have been sold. He was one of the founders of the American Philological Association in 1869, and its first Vice-President. He was also one of the Committee which organized the American School of Classical

Studies at Athens, and continued an active and influential member of its managing committee until his death.

His good judgment was recognized also in his election four years ago to the Presidency of the Rhode Island Historical Society, and about the same time to the Board of Fellows of Brown University. He received the honorary degree of LL.D. in 1859.

T. D. SEYMOUR.

WILLIAM GUNION RUTHERFORD.

WE record, with profound regret, the death of Dr. Rutherford. He had been in feeble health for many years, but his mind was so alert and vigorous that his friends were shocked when the end came suddenly on July 19th last.

William Gunion Rutherford was born, the son of a Scotch clergyman, in Peebleshire, July 17th, 1853. He was educated at the Glasgow High School, at St. Andrews University, where he was a pupil of Prof. Lewis Campbell, and at Balliol College under Jowett. He gained a 1st Class in Classical Moderations, but took his degree in the Natural Science School in deference to his father, who wished him to be a doctor. His bent, however, was to scholarship, and, in 1876, he became a classical master at St. Paul's School under Mr. F. W. Walker. In 1883 he was elected Fellow and Tutor of University College, Oxford, in succession to Mr. S. H. Butcher, but within a few weeks, and before he could begin work at Oxford, he was appointed Headmaster of Westminster. He went to Westminster a man of extraordinary physical strength and left it in 1901, broken and prematurely aged by sheer excess of work. The last six years of his life were spent at Bishopstone, near Lewes, where he died, but in his retirement he was never idle. He continued to do much literary work, and was one of the Classical Moderators of London University.

When Rutherford came to London in 1877, he had already begun to make collections in regard to Attic idiom, and especially the

Attic verb-forms. The suggestion that he should throw his studies into an edition of Phrynichus came from Mr. F. W. Walker, to whom he was, in many other ways also, greatly indebted. The *New Phrynichus* appeared in 1882. The imposing appearance of the book was not belied by its contents, and Rutherford stepped at once into the front rank among Greek scholars. The difference between Rutherford's *Phrynichus* and Lobeck's is in the main this, that the former commented on the grammarian's Atticisms, whereas Lobeck commented on the late Greek which Phrynichus wished to correct. As a shocking example of this late Greek, Rutherford chose the Fables of Babrius and edited them, in 1883, with very full notes on the matter as well as on the language. About this time, also, he produced his *Elementary Accidence* of Attic Greek, which is now largely used and which gives, in a succinct form, many results of his researches. When he became head master of Westminster (1883), his leisure was gone, and none of the work that he did afterwards was equal to his first two books. His recension of *Heronidas* (1892) did not deserve much attention. Some other books were suggested to him in the course of his teaching. The first of these is called *Lex Rex*, after a work by another Rutherford, a Scotch schoolmaster of the 17th century. It is a collection of allied words in Latin, Greek, and English, and shews considerable learning in the domain of Comparative Philology. Another is an edition of the *IVth Book* of Thucy-

didides (1889), and a third is a translation of the *Epistle to the Romans*. Both these are executed in the old grand manner, but they are, in truth, but fragments. The two volumes of *Scholia* to Aristophanes, from the Ravenna MS., appeared in 1896, but they were printed in an unpleasing type, and a learned German soon proved, as Rutherford himself admitted, that the *scholia* of Ravennas were not nearly so good as those of Venetus. Immediately on his retirement from school work (1901), Rutherford took these scholia in hand, and in 1905 produced a third volume of commentary and criticism on them. He did not expect it to be much read, and it is not: for the text was forgotten before the notes appeared. Those who knew the author

can read some sense of disappointment between the lines.

Numerous and important as Rutherford's books are, none of them, nor all of them together are so impressive as the man himself was. He was like Burke, of whom Dr. Johnson said you could not stand under an entry with him for five minutes without thinking 'This is a very extraordinary man.' There was something heroic about him always, and of late years something tragic. He was attacked long ago by an obscure disease of the heart which wasted his magnificent frame but did not abate his masterful character or his shrewd and unwearied intellect. A collection of his sayings would be as good as *Scaligerana*.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Publishers and Authors forwarding Books for review are asked to send at the same time a note of the price.

The size of Books is given in inches: 4 inches = 10 centimetres (roughly). They are unbound unless the binding is specified.

* *Excerpts and Extracts from Periodicals and Collections are not included in these Lists unless stated to be separately published.*

Aeschylus. Die Eumeniden des Aischylos: erklärende Ausgabe von Friedrich Blass. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " $\times$ 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. 180. Berlin, Weidmann. 1907. M. 5.

Bericht over den Wedstrijd in Latijnsche Poëzie van het Jaar 1906. 9" $\times$ 6". Pp. 8 (19-26). Amsterdam, Johannes Müller. 1907.

Buchanan (E. S.) The Four Gospels from the Codex Corbeiensis, being the first complete edition of the MS. now numbered Lat. 17225 in the National Library at Paris, together with fragments of the Catholic Epistles, of the Acts and of the Apocalypse from the Fleury Palimpsest (h) now numbered Lat. 6400 G in the same Library, and for the first time completely edited with the aid of the printed text of Berger, 'Le Palimpseste de Fleury,' by E. S. B., M.A., B.Sc. (*Old-Latin Biblical Texts, No. V.*) 9" $\times$ 8". Pp. viii + 124, with 3 facsimiles. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1907. 12s. 6d. net.

Classical Association of Scotland. Proceedings 1906-7. 8" $\times$ 6". Pp. vi + 96. Edinburgh, H. & J. Pillans & Wilson. 1907. Cloth.

Deissmann (Adolf) New Light on the New Testament from records of the Graeco-Roman period by A. D., translated from the Author's MS. by Lionel R. M. Strachan, M.A. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " $\times$ 5". Pp. xii + 128. Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark. 1907. Cloth, 3s. net.

Demosthenes. Orationes recognovit brevique adnot. critica instruxit S. H. Butcher. II. i. (*Script. Class. Bibl. Oxon.*) 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " $\times$ 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. xii + 451-808. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1907. Paper, 3s. Cloth, 3s. 6d.

Horace. The Odes of Horace, a translation and an exposition by E. R. Garnsey, B.A. 9" $\times$ 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. viii + 230. London, Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1907. Cloth, 6s.

Kelsey (Francis W.) The Position of Latin and Greek in American Education. I. The present position of Latin and Greek. II. The value of Latin and Greek as educational instruments. III. Latin and Greek in our courses of study. (Reprinted from the *Education Review*, New York, Dec. 1906; Jan. 1907; Feb. 1907.) 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ " $\times$ 6". Separate. Pp. 461-472, Pp. 59-76, Pp. 162-176.

Lunn (A. C. P.) Latin Exercises on Latin models. 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ " $\times$ 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 96. London, Edward Arnold. 1907. Cloth, 1s.

Marshall (Douglas H.) The Beginner's Book of Greek. 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ " $\times$ 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 64. London, Edward Arnold. 1907. Cloth, 1s. 6d.

Michigan Classical Conference. Programme of the Twelfth. (Reprinted from the *School Review*. Vol. XIV, No. 8. Oct. 1906. Pp. 560-562.)

- Mommsen* (Theodor) Gesammelte Schriften. Band III. Juristische Schriften. Band III. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. xii + 632. Berlin, Weidmann. 1907. M. 15.
- Payne-Gallwey* (Sir Ralph) Bart. A summary of the history, construction, and effects in warfare of the Projectile-throwing Engines of the Ancients, with a treatise on the structure, power, and management of Turkish and other Oriental bows of mediaeval and later times. 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 70, with 40 illustrations. London, Longmans, Green & Co. 1907. Cloth, 5s. net.
- Peaks* (Mary B.) The General Civil and Military Administration of Noricum and Rhaetia. Reprint from Vol. IV. of Chicago Studies in Classical Philology. 10" x 7". Chicago University Press. 1907. Pp. 161-230.
- Rankin* (E. M.) The Role of the Μάγιστοι in the life of the Ancient Greeks. Chicago University Press. 1907. Pp. vi + 92. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6".
- Pradel* (Fritz) Griechische und süditalienische Gebete, Beschwörungen und Rezepte des Mittelalters. (*Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, von A. Dieterich und R. Wünsch. Band III. Heft 3.) 9" x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. viii + 253-404. Giessen, Topelmann. 1907.
- Rufus Crispinus*. Carmen praemio aureo ornatum in certamine poetico Hoeufftiano accedunt sex carmina laudata. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 128 (?). Amsterdam, Johannes Müller. 1907.
- Schmidt* (Henry) Veteres philosophi quomodo iudicaverint de precibus. (*Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, von A. Dieterich und R. Wünsch. Band IV. Heft 1.) 9" x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. 74. Giessen, Topelmann. 1907.
- Schubart* (W.) und Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (U. von) Griechische-Dichterfragmente. Hälfte 2. Lyrische und dramatische Fragmente. (*Berliner Klassikertexte*. Heft 5, Hälfte 2.) 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. ii + 160, mit 6 Lichtdrucktafeln. Berlin, 1907. M. 11.
- Seneca*. Étude sur les Métaphores et les comparaisons dans les œuvres en prose de Sénèque le Philosophe par D. Steyns. (*Université de Gand. Recueil de Travaux publiés par la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres*. Fasc. 33.) 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 166. Gand, J. Vuylsteke. 1906. Fr. 4 (?).
- Tacitus*. Cornelli Taciti annalium ab excessu divi Augusti libri. The Annals of Tacitus, edited with introduction and notes by Henry Furneaux. Vol. II. Books xi-xvi. Second Edition, revised by H. F. Pelham and C. D. Fisher. 9" x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. clii + 520, with a map of Armenia. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1907. Cloth, 21s. (£5.25).
- The Value of Humanistic, particularly Classical, Studies as a preparation for the study of Law, from the point of view of the Profession*. A Symposium from the Proceedings of the Classical Conference held at Ann Arbor, Michigan, March 27th, 1907. 10" x 7". Pp. 409-435. Reprinted from the *School Review*, June 1907.
- *For the study of Medicine and of Engineering, from the point of view of the Professions*. A Symposium, etc., March 29th, 1906. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 389-414. Reprinted from the *School Review*, June 1906.
- Vergil*. Vergils Gedichte erklärt von Th. Ladewig und C. Schaper. Erstes Bändchen. Bukolika und Georgika. Achte Auflage bearb. von Paul Deuticke. (*Sammlung griechischer und lateinischer Schriftsteller mit deutschen Anmerkungen* begr. von M. Haupt und H. Sauppe.) 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. viii + 292. Berlin, Weidmann. 1907. M. 3.

The Classical Review

NOVEMBER 1907

ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

MENTAL GYMNASTIC.

IN Mr. Lyttelton's paper on Latin Composition (*C.R.* p. 161) I was delighted once more to see our old friend Mental Gymnastic re-appear. I have myself made him show his paces on occasion, have even ridden him over a course; and it gave me real pleasure to see how well he kept his form with another jockey up. In the same stable are other animals no less useful: the Blank Sheet of Paper is one, Intellectual Digestion is another, and others are named from agricultural processes. The advantage of having a good choice in the stable is, that if one horse turns out a roarer, or grunts at the stick, or refuses his fences, hey presto with the skip of a circus rider you are on another.

I am afraid that this riot of metaphor will seem flippant to some; but it has beneath it a motive as solemn as anyone could wish, the desire to be free from the tyranny of metaphor. When I see how confidently metaphors are brought forward as if they were arguments, it makes me very solemn. Our language is full of dead metaphors which mean nothing at all, and only serve to obscure facts; and if one metaphor happens to have a little life in it, someone is sure to produce it in place of an argument.

Take for instance this metaphor of Gymnastic, and translate into it the other terms of the comparison. Mental Gymnastic in Latin is assumed to be useful if 33 per cent. of the Latin—or let us be generous and say half—be correct. Now the Latin is the medium of the gymnastic. Let us see what would happen if the Gymnastic were physical. Take, for example, the gymnast's exercise on the horizontal bar: what would be the value of the gymnast, if in circling round the bar, every other time he should fall off on his head? True, he must often come short in learning, and even fall sometimes perhaps; but we are concerned with the finished product, the practised gymnast on the one hand, and the Latinist in examination on the other.

Now I think it will be agreed that gymnastic exercises which are found to be useful are so graduated that each step is quite possible for the learner to take, that few save trifling mistakes are made in practice, and that the average learner after practice can do these exercises without serious mistakes. Far otherwise is it with the accepted Mental Gymnastic: the steps are too difficult for the average learner, mistakes are generally inevitable, and the average learner (with

luck) gets 33 per cent. In physical gymnastic perfection is the aim, and up to varying standards is possible for all except the deformed or deficient; in mental gymnastic why should the rule be different? If it is different, the metaphor is misleading; for it is not like that to which it is compared.

But I do not base my argument on metaphor at all. Let us get down to facts. Instead of saying gymnastic, suppose we say practice: my idea is that practice runs through the whole work; only some think, or at least assume, that practice in making mistakes is in itself a desirable thing. Mistakes must be made, of course; but they are wholly bad, and only to be tolerated if they cannot be avoided. Now the aim of the teacher should be, I think, to make the mistakes as few as possible, and if he can, to do away with them altogether. What good there can be in any work which consists of 67 per cent. of mistakes I cannot see. How can it 'stimulate clearness of thought' to use expressions habitually that do not express thought clearly? A sentence which uses the nominative case where the accusative is right does not express thought clearly; and one that shows a gap where a word ought to stand does not express thought at all. The scheme that I sketched was meant to avoid such mistakes; and if through the weakness of human nature mistakes should be made, it ensured that these should be open to instant correction, in such a manner and with such a tone that the correction should produce a stronger impression than the mistake; whilst the writing should be kept for fixing the correct impression. Moreover, by use of question and answer,

the attention is kept upon one point at a time, the correct expression being supplied for the rest; now it may be the order of words, again it may be the change of person or number, and by degrees more and more may be expected, until the learner is able to understand and to express a wide range of thought without mistake. This is what I hold to be the true mental gymnastic, which by a constant succession of exercises, each demanding a distinct mental effort, yet each within the powers of the learner if he makes the effort, makes him day by day better able to express his thoughts clearly and accurately.

And the power to do this is what I mean by power to use a language; but the practice by which we get it is surely not an end, but only a means. Having then by this means of graduated practice gained this power, we are in a position to appreciate the literary qualities of the language, but not before. To have literary feeling, intellectual understanding is first necessary. The foundations have indeed been laid already; when it became clear, as it did almost in the first lesson of Latin, that the order of words must be changed in each answer to suit the point of the question, the main principle of Latin style was thereby taught; but there remain the distinction of synonyms, and the infinite connotations and suggestions of words: these only become clear with much knowledge, and knowledge of a kind that cannot be got from the misuse of words. The two objects which I assumed in my paper are thus seen to be two steps in one process; mental gymnastic, a permanent condition of both.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

A PORTRAIT OF THE REX NEMORENSIS.

DURING the excavations which the late Lord Savile carried on at Nemi in 1885, a double head was found. The original fell to the share of Prince Orsini upon whose land the excavations were made. There is a cast, however, in the Nemi collection which Lord Savile presented to the Castle Museum, Nottingham; and the illustrations are taken from

photographs of the cast.¹ Up to the present time, the two heads have been taken to represent two water-spirits, perhaps the personifications of the neighbouring lakes of Nemi and Albano. This was the view of

¹ These photographs I owe to the courtesy of Mr. G. H. Wallis, Curator of the Castle Museum, Nottingham.

Henzen (*Bull. dell' Inst.* Dec. 1885). The Capitoline Museum at Rome contains a similar double head, and this is described in like terms (Helbig, *Führer* I. No. 448). Mr. A. B. Cook, speaking of the Nemi bust in this review (Vol. xvi. 373), still accepts the interpretation as water-spirits, but asks whether they are 'the double form of Diana's favourite, Hippolytus-Virbius.' And that is how the matter stands.

Let us examine the busts again for ourselves.¹ The superficial resemblance of the

to be explained as oak leaves. This explanation had already suggested itself to me before examining the smaller leaves, but the disproportionate size of the leaves upon the neck stood in the way. It is to be remembered, however, that the subject is symbolically treated, as may be seen by the horns; and the artist might not feel himself shut off from a bolder treatment of the foliage. This is more likely if we consider the somewhat unsatisfactory effect of the small foliation under the eyes of the beardless figure. Nor again is



horn-like projections upon the heads to fins seems to have caused a much more suggestive feature to be overlooked altogether. The two ends of the moustache upon the bearded face are formed of oak leaves. These are only shown in profile by the photograph. But if you stand at the side of the bust itself, you get a clear view of the end of the moustache as an oak leaf standing almost clear from the face.

In the next place, the foliage which encircles the necks of the two figures is clearly

the more accurate size of the leaves forming the moustache entirely satisfactory, but the large leaves help to give a broad finish to the necks of the two figures, and so produce a great part of the undoubtedly pleasant result. It must be allowed, however, that the sculptor was not a master of his art. For the double head seems to be a replica of an original now lost; and therefore it might very well fall to the hand of a pupil or assistant. At any rate the symbolic accessories are somewhat roughly treated. This fact must be borne in mind as we proceed to the interpretation of the horns.

If we suppose that the horns are really

¹ I am indebted to Dr. Frazer for some suggestive hints.

fins, and that there are fins at the ends of the lips of the beardless face, we are met by the same question of proportion which affected our estimate of the oak leaves. Hence we do not introduce any fresh difficulty by regarding the foliage round the neck as oak leaves. Both oak leaves and fins are of varying dimensions. But it is improbable that the so-called fins are fins at all. For, as we have seen, the moustache of the older head consists mainly of oak leaves. Hence it seems better to consider the projections against the lips of the younger head as a conventional treatment of foliage. And, lastly, as to the fins upon the head; if we were dealing with water-spirits, we should expect horns to be represented. Ovid, speaking of Acis, says: 'incinctus iuvenis flexis nova cornua cannis' (*Met.* 13, 894). Even Ocean is horned (*Eur. Or.* 1378). And the literary evidence is confirmed by the tradition of sculpture. But even the horns disappeared at last, and the rivers and fountains were represented by entirely human forms with attributes which showed that they depicted streams and springs. In the absence therefore of precedent, it seems safer to be guided by the oak foliage and to suppose that the projections upon the head are to be referred to some conventional form of vegetation.

Perhaps these considerations may fail to convince those who would see in the bust two water-spirits. But there is a curious combination of the water-spirit with the oak-spirit in Egeria. She is described by Plutarch as one of the dryads (*de fort. Rom.* 9). Hence, although it seems certain that oak leaves are depicted, it is possible after all that fins are depicted.

This being so, we may carry Mr. A. B. Cook's suggestion one step further and enquire whether the double bust may stand for Virbius-Hippolytus as a wood-spirit, perhaps the king of the wood. Here again we must be content with a merely probable result. The older face would stand for Virbius, to whom the goddess added age (Ovid, *Met.* 15, 539). But could the younger face represent Hippolytus?

The broad nose, the arched brows, and the square countenance are altogether unlike

the Greek ideal face. Moreover, if we compare them with the Roman type, embodied, for example, in the beautiful features of Fundilia Rufa (a fine piece of sculpture also found at Nemi), we shall be inclined to look away from Rome for their origin. Probably we shall find a nearer parallel in the head of a barbarian like the Dacian (*Baummeister*, Fig. 232). I am most reminded of the heads which one may come across in those mosaic pavements which represent gladiators, boxers, and the like. Why should not such a person as Caligula's ruffian be the assailant of the reigning 'rex nemorensis'? And if this head represents the assailant, then the older face will be that of the king-priest. The mouth of the older man is opened as if to express an anxious protest. It is difficult to see why, on the other supposition, the Lake of Albano should open his mouth and wrinkle his brows, while the Lake of Nemi breathes a calm assurance. But if the one is the recent victor, and the other is the king of the wood haunted by the dread of sudden attacks, this contrast of expression is explained.

It is instructive to compare this piece of sculpture and the characterization which it presents with the contemporary tendency of the Pasitelean school towards an archaizing simplicity. There was a sculptor's workshop at Nemi, apparently, in which, among other objects, there was found a fine unfinished marble bust (No. 832, Nemi Collection¹). Here we find again a pathetic expression which serves to mark such work off from that of other contemporary schools and to bring it near to the double bust. This is not the place to follow out such a distinction in detail. But, in conclusion, it may be noted that the Greek tradition seems to have been strong at Nemi. Doric capitals of a Greek type were unearthed by Lord Savile. And we are enabled to understand, perhaps, the curious expression of Vitruvius when he is speaking of the temple of Diana (iv. 8, 4). He compares the temple to the more ancient arrangements of the temples of Athena at Sunium and on the Athenian Acropolis; contrasting the building at Nemi with

¹ Wallis, *Catalogue of Nemi Antiquities*, p. 54.

Roman work as being designed *argutius*, whatever precisely that may mean. Hence Nemi is to be interpreted by reference to the south, Pompeii and Paestum, rather than by

northern influence from Rome and Etruria; and we may see in the double bust a product of the expiring Greek tradition.

FRANK GRANGER.

VARIA.

Soph. *O.C.* 266

τά γ' ἔργα μου
πεποιθότ' ἐστὶ μάλλον ἢ δεδρακότα.

I do not know whether Mr. Housman was the first to call these words in question, but he did so very effectively (in the *American Journal of Philology* 13. 139), and for some years I did not doubt that he had emended them rightly in his

τά γ' ἔργα με
πεπονθότ' ἵστε μάλλον ἢ δεδρακότα.

But it occurred to me a little time back that another reading was possible, involving perhaps no more change than his:

τά γ' ἔργα μου
πεπονθότος τι μάλλον ἢ δεδρακότος,

in which of course ἐστὶ is to be supplied with πεπονθότος. τι might go either with the participles or with μάλλον.

Eur. *Hēr.* 114

ἡμεῖς δέ, τοὺς νέους γὰρ οὐ μιμητέον,
φρονούντες οὕτως ὡς πρέπει δούλοις λέγειν,
προσευξόμεσθα τοῖσι σοῖς ἀγάλμασιν,
δέσποινα Κύπρι.

L and P have φρονούντας, corrected in the second hand of L to the nominative in harmony with all other MSS. Great difficulty has been found in making sense of the line, and Wecklein enumerates more than twenty proposed alterations. Among them all I do not find the simple suggestion to alter φρονούντες by one letter and read φρενούντες. Hippolytus' servant admonishes his master as far as a slave may.

Eur. *Bacch.* 439

γελῶν δὲ καὶ δεῖν ἀπάγειν ἐφίετο
ἐμένε τε, τοῦμὸν εὐτρεπὲς ποιούμενος.

Thus the disguised Dionysus bore himself, when seized by the guards, one of whom is

speaking. εὐτρεπὲς is puzzling and has been turned by conjecture into εὐτρεπὲς and εὐπετές. But εὐ here, as often in compounds, has got confused with α. What Euripides wrote was ἀτρεπὲς, and the feeling expressed is something like that of Marcellus in *Hamlet*,

'We do it wrong, being so majestic,
'To offer it the show of violence.'

Shield of Heracles 147

ἐπὶ δὲ βλοσυροῖο μετώπων
δεινὴ Ἔρις πεπότητο κορύσσουσα κλόνον ἀνδρῶν.

There is no propriety here in the pluperfect, for which the imperfect ought rather to have been used. But, when we notice the very proper pluperfect τέτυκτο used several times (154, 208, etc.) to describe what *had been fashioned* on the shield and therefore was now to be seen on it, we may perhaps conjecture that the poet wrote πεποίητο. The more prosaic verb is used in 319 (ποίησε σάκος) instead of τεύχω.

In *Phaedrus* 244 C πετομένων should, I think, be written for ποιουμένων.

Theognidea 183

Κριούς μὲν καὶ ὄνους διζήμεθα, Κύρνε, καὶ
ἵππους
εὐγενέας, καὶ τις βούλεται ἐξ ἀγαθῶν
βήσεσθαι γῆμαι δὲ κακὴν κακοῦ οὐ μελεδαίνει
ἐσθλὸς ἀνὴρ κ.τ.λ.

For βήσεσθαι, which both in sense and in grammar is very questionable, there are not only the variants βήθεσθαι and βίνεσθαι, but in a passage ascribed in the text of Stobaeus to Xenophon (though it is pretty well agreed that there is some error here) we find the words quoted with κτήσασθαι (Stob. *Flor.* 88. 14). This suggests πύσασθαι, on which it would be a gloss, as the true reading. The

participle occurs in line 146 χρήματα πιασάμενος.

Theognidea 1013

*Α μάκαρ εἰδαίμων τε καὶ ὄλβιος ὅστις ἄπειρος
ἄθλων εἰς Ἰδιδεω δῶμα μέλαν κατέβη,
πρίν τ' ἐχθροὺς πτῆξαι καὶ ὑπερβῆναι ποτ'
ἀνάγκη
ἐξετάσαι τε φίλους ὄντιν' ἔχουσι νόον.

The transitive use of πτήσω is very questionable and, even if admitted, not specially suitable here. In Xen. *Cynegeticus* 9. 5 I have proposed to turn the very odd πείσας ὡς ἐπὶ γῆν (of a hare) into πτήξας, and I would suggest here that the reverse change be made, πείσαι for πτήξαι. I take it that ἐχθροὺς is the subject of πείσαι and ὑπερβῆναι, and that by one of the rapid changes which occur in Greek the man himself is the subject of ἐξετάσαι. So for instance *Od.* 3. 16 ὅπου κίθε γαῖα καὶ ὄντινα πότμον ἐπέεσπεν: Herod. 6. 30 οὐτ' ἂν ἔπαθε κακὸν οὐδέν. . . ἀπῆκε τ' ἂν αὐτῷ τὴν αἰτίαν: Thuc. 1. 51 ἔπειτα δὲ ἐγνωσαν (οἱ Κερκυραῖοι) καὶ ὠρμίσαντο (οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι).

Timon *ar.* Diog. L. 3. 7 and Hesych. Miles. 55 of Plato

τῶν πάντων δ' ἡγεῖτο πλατίστατος ἀλλ' ἀγορη-
τῆς
ἡδυεπῆς, τέττιξιν ἰσοκράγος, οἷ θ' Ἑκαδήμου
δένδρεϊ ἐφεζόμενοι ὅπα λειριόεσαν ἱέισι.

According to Brandt (*Poesis Epica Graeca Ludibunda*, p. 102) the MSS. vary between πλατίστατος, πλατίστακος, πλατύστακος, πλατύσπακος, and πλατύστατος. The forms -ίστατος, -ύστατος are very unlikely for the superlative of πλατύς. Is it possible that πλατύστομος is what Timon wrote? The reference would be to the second etymology of Plato given by Diogenes, i.e. not to Plato's εὐεξία or broadness (πλατύτης) of build, but to τὴν πλατύτητα τῆς ἐρμηνείας, his amplitude, copiousness, of expression. Cf. Olympiod. *Vit. Plat.* διὰ τὸ πλατὺ καὶ κεχυμένον . . . τοῦ χαρακτήρος. Timon means to say therefore that his utterance, though plentiful, was pleasant, like that of the cicadas.

Arist. *Met.* 1. 2. 982 b 28 διὸ καὶ δικαίως ἂν οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνην νομίζοιτο αἰτῆς (the highest ἐπιστήμη) ἢ κτήσις· πολλαχῇ γὰρ ἢ φύσις

δούλη τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐστίν, ὥστε κατὰ Σιμωνίδην θεὸς ἂν μόνος τοῦτ' ἔχοι γέρας.

δούλη seems at once inapposite and too strong. It is used much more properly further on, when it is said (996 b 10) ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχικωτάτη καὶ ἡγεμονικωτάτη, καὶ ἡ ὥσπερ δούλας οἶδ' ἀντειπεῖν τὰς ἄλλας ἐπιστήμας δίκαιον, κ.τ.λ., where in antithesis to ἀρχ. and ἡγεμ. it is much in place. Is it not here an error for φαῖλη, a much more suitable word? Cf. *De An.* 2. 9. 421 a 10 φαύλως ἄνθρωπος ὁσμᾶται as compared with many animals.

Lucian *Somn.* 9 οὐδὲν γὰρ ὅτι μὴ ἐργάτης ἔσει τῷ σώματι πονῶν κὰν τούτῳ τὴν ἅπασαν ἐλπίδα τοῦ βίου τεθειμένος, ἀφανὴς μὲν αὐτὸς ὢν, ὀλίγα καὶ ἀγεννῇ λαμβάνων, κ.τ.λ.

For λαμβάνων read μανθάνων. The word λαμβάνω is used but little of mental acquisitions; chiefly of material gain, on which so much stress ought not to be laid at this point. Nor would ἀγεννῇ λαμβάνων be a proper phrase in that sense: a man λαμβάνει ἐξ ἀγεννῶν, not ἀγεννῇ λαμβάνει. With ὀλίγα καὶ ἀγεννῇ μανθάνων is contrasted in 10 especially καὶ ὅλως ἅπαντα ὅποσα ἐστὶ τὰ τε θεῖα τὰ τ' ἀνθρώπινα οὐκ ἐς μακράν σε διδάξομαι.

Luc. *Vit. Auct.* 14. ΩΝ. τί γὰρ ὁ αἰὼν ἐστι; ΗΡΑΚ. παῖς παίζων, πεσσεύων, διαφερόμενος.

In the words παῖς παίζων πεσσεύων Heraclitus is of course quoting himself: *fragm.* 52 Diels (79 Bywater) αἰὼν παῖς ἐστὶ παίζων πεσσεύων. When we notice how in the context both before and after he is made to use terms in pairs, usually antithetic (τέρψις ἀτερψίη, γνῶσις ἀγνωσίη, etc., and again θεοὶ θνητοί, ἄνθρωποι ἀθάνατοι), and when we call to mind *fragm.* 10 (Byw. 59) ὅλα καὶ οὐχ ὅλα, συμφερόμενοι διαφερόμενοι, συνᾶδον διαῖδον, does it not seem likely that we should read here in Lucian <συμφερόμενος> διαφερόμενος? The MS. which Sommerbrodt calls ψ seems actually to have συμφερόμενος written above διαφερόμενος.

In a similar way I suspect an omission in § 5, καὶ σεωντὸν ἓνα δοκέοντα καὶ ἄλλον ὁρέομενον ἄλλον ἓντα εἶσεαι. The words ἄλλον . . . ἓντα are complete in themselves and ἓνα δοκέοντα only confuses them. Did not Lucian write something like ἓνα δοκέοντα <πολλοὺς ἓντα>? So just below ἀλλαττό-

μειον ἐς μορφὰς πλείονας. Cf. *Theaet.* 166 B (do you think he will admit) τὸν εἰναι τινα ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τοὺς;

Luc. *Vera Hist.* 1. 29 (end) μαλακῶς ἐνδιδόντος τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ συνιζάνοντος ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν κατετέθημεν.

'Let down' is what we want, not 'laid down.' Read καθεῖθμεν from καθήμι, a form corrupted in consequence of its rarity: indeed parts of ἱμῖ (especially καθήμι, μεθήμι) are often altered to parts of τίθμι. Cf. § 9 καθήκεν εἰς τὸ πῆλαγος, where there is the *v. l.* κατέθηκεν, and *Vera Hist.* 2. 2. τὸ πλοῖον . . καθήκαμεν ἐς τὴν θάλατταν, which has escaped corruption: *ib.* 43 Cobet has already corrected καταθέντες τὴν ναῦν το καθέντες. (In Luc. *Pisc.* 47 and 51 I suspect that the aorists καθήκεν and καθήκα are a mistake for the perfects καθεῖκεν and καθεῖκα, due again to comparative rarity of form.)

Luc. *Gallus* 1. The cock says to its owner ὦμην τι χαριεῖσθαί σοι προλαμβάνων τῆς νυκτὸς ὁπόσον ἂν δυναίμην φθονῶν.

For the meaningless φθονῶν, omitted by Dindorf and perhaps partly due to φθονερόν preceding, read φωνῶν. Cf. ὀξύφωνος above and ἀφωνότερος below.

Luc. *Rhet. Praec.* 22 ἦν μὲν τις καλῶς εἶπη . . ἦν δὲ μετρίως ἐνεχθῆ, κ.τ.λ.

Read λεχθῆ for ἐνεχθῆ.

Appian *Cell.* 8 προσίεσθε τῷ ἔργῳ.

Neither προσίεσθε nor προστίθεσθε, which is suggested, can mean *apply yourselves to*. Probably πρόσκεισθε was the word.

Clem. Al. *Strom.* 5. 3. 17 (654 P) ἀγνοήσας τις ἐζήτησεν καὶ ζητήσας εὑρίσκει τὸν διδάσκαλον εἰρών τε ἐπίστευσεν καὶ πιστεῦσας ἤλπισεν ἀγαπήσας τε ἐντέυθεν ἐξομοιοῦται τῷ ἡγαπημένῳ.

Stählin in the notes to his recent text does not mention that doubt has ever been thrown upon ἤλπισεν, but I can hardly believe that the very obvious ἡγάπησεν has not been suggested. The trick of the sentence requires it, and ἤλπισεν seems deficient in meaning.

Stob. *Flor.* 4. 107 Ζήνων δὲ ἔφη γέλοιον ἐκάστους (ἐκάστου) μὲν τοῖς πράγμασιν ὥς δεῖ ζῆν μὴ προσέχειν ὡς οὐκ εἰδόντων. τὸν δὲ παρὰ πάντων ἔπαινον θανμάζειν ὥς ἐχόμενον κρίσεως.

I do not know what sense readers have attached to πράγμασιν. Read προστάγμασιν, the confusion of πράττω and προστάττω being well known (e. g. Ar. *Eth.* 5. 2. 1130 b 23: Plat. *Rep.* 407 D: Lys. 14. 20 and 21, etc., 25. 13: Isocr. 2. 34). We must adopt the variant ἐκάστου to which εἰδόντων refers loosely.

Aspasius in *Eth. Nicom.* 4. 14 (Heylbut p. 125. 24). Expounding the character of Aristotle's βωμολόχος as πάντως τοῦ γελοίου στοχαζόμενος, Aspasius says εἰσὶ τινες οἱ τὸ παράπαν οὐκ ἀξιοῦσι χρῆσθαι τῇ παιδιᾷ καὶ οὐτ' αὐτοὶ ἂν εἴποιεν πλέον τι οὐτ' ἄλλων ἀκούσειαν ἂν ἡδέως.

πλέον τι makes no sense and is probably a mistake for γέλοιόν τι. γ and π are liable to confusion, as in the familiar case of πᾶγμα and γράμμα.

Suidas s.v. Σώφρων τοῖς δὲ χρόνοις ἦν κατὰ Ξέρην καὶ Εὐριπίδην.

Not only is Xerxes an odd person to date a Sicilian author by, but he does not at all harmonise with Euripides. The *floruit* of the two would be very different. Sophron too was almost certainly later than Xerxes. Can we find any Greek writer or thinker of about the same date as Euripides, whose name might conceivably get distorted into *Xerxes*? Anaxagoras seems to satisfy these conditions. If κατ' Ἀναξαγόραν (a followed by a consonant four times running) became by accident καταξαγόραν, it would be a fairly easy step to κατὰ Ξέρην.

Vitruv. vii *Praef.* 10. *Ego vero, Caesar, neque alienis indicibus mutatis interpositis nomine meo id profero corpus, neque ullius cogitata vituperans institui ex eo me approbare.*

Should we not read *mutuatis* for *mutatis*? Pliny speaks of the moon shining *mutuata luce*.

H. RICHARDS.

THE SO-CALLED DISTRIBUTIVES IN LATIN.

For some time I have been collecting materials to show that current views upon the 'Distributive Numerals' in Latin are incorrect and the term itself misleading, that it exalts a derivative use into a principal one, and that it wholly fails to account for the use of the 'distributives' as 'cardinals' as in the poets and with words such as *astra* that have no singular corresponding. Pressure of other work prevented me from putting my results together; and now a monograph by Prof. K. Brugmann, which has just come into my hands and to which I would at once draw the attention of the readers of the *Classical Review*, relieves me from the necessity of doing so. This monograph is entitled 'Die distributiven und die kollektiven Numeralia der Indogermanischen Sprachen von K. Brugmann mit einem Anhang von Eduard Sievers' and is published by Teubner, Leipzig, 1907, as No. 5 of the 25th volume of 'the Transactions of the philological-historical Class of the Royal Saxon Society of Sciences.' The matter is of some interest, I think, to English students and teachers of Latin; and I will here present from my own point of view and with fresh illustrations the main heads of a topic as to which Prof. Brugmann and I are in substantial and independent agreement.

The Latin 'distributives' are properly *Collectives*. *bini custodes* does not mean 'two guards each,' but 'a pair of guards,' 'a couple of guards.' Plautus *Miles* 211 sq. 'nam os columnatum poetae esse inaudiui barbaro | quoi *bini custodes* semper totis horis occubant':¹ *Truc.* 99 sq. 'ita nunc adulescentes morati sunt: *quinei* aut | *senei* adueniunt ad sortita congrerrones,' 'in troops of five or six,' 'five or six at a time': *Mercator* 303 sq. 'DE. hodie eire occipi in ludum litterarium, | Lysimache, *ternas* scio iam. LY. quid ternas? DE. A-M-O.' 'I know words of three letters.' Caesar *B.G.* v. 14. 4 (The ancient Britons) 'uxores habent *deni duodenique* inter se communes,' 'groups of ten or twelve have wives in common.' *ib.* vi. 14. 3 'annos nonnulli

uicenos in disciplina permanent,' 'for twenty years together.'

The poetical use of these formations for the simple cardinal numbers is well known: *V. Aen.* 7. 538 '*quinque* greges illi balantum, *quina* redibant | armenta.' The shift of meaning from 'five at a time' to 'five' is slight, and the declinable words were metrically convenient.

The collective sense may be readily traced in another use of the poets, a perfectly logical development from the elastic sense of the plural. *bini* can mean not only 'in a pair' but 'in pairs.' Thus *bini* might be used of the bull and cow that went into the Ark, and again be applied to all the animals which came 'by two, by two.' Now, if a recognized use of *centenae arbores* was 'trees by hundreds,' 'centuries of trees,' then by a natural analogy 'centena arbor' might be used for 'a century of trees': cf. *V. Aen.* 10. 207 'it grauis Aulestes *centenaque arbore* fluctum | uerberat adsurgens.' The affection of Roman poets for the collective singular is well known; and analogies like *multa auis* 'plenty fowl' (*multae aues* prose) were ready to hand. A place like *Lucr.* 4. 448 sqq. sets the matter in a clear light 'fit uti uideantur | omnia quae tuimur fieri tum *bina* tuendo, | *bina* lucernarum florentia lumina flammis | *binaque* (sing.) per totas aedis *geminare* supellex | et *duplicis* hominum facies et corpora *bina*.'² As Brugmann correctly says, 'the sense in such cases is "double," "threefold," etc., i.e. composed of two, three, etc. connected parts.' So in later Latin '*septenus* Hister,' Statius *Silu.* v. 2. 136, is to be set side by side with the '*septem-geminus* Nilus' (Catullus, Vergil), of which Lucan, 8. 445, has '*septeno* gurgite.' It may be doubted if there is any instance in classical writers where the number expressed by the 'distributive' is not regarded as in some sense a whole or at least as a 'round' number. The sense is often bettered if this is borne in mind. Aulestes' crew (l.c.) is not a 'ragged' one: their oar blades strike

¹ The passages from Plautus are given by Lindsay's text.

² Compare Plaut. *Pseudolus* 704, where the jubilant slave cuts capers over all the classes of numerals.

the water *together*. One particular phrase calls for special comment. *trino nundino*, Quint. ii. 4. 35, seems to have been formed by a mistaken analogy from *trinum nundinum* (for *nouem dinum*), an elliptical genitive plural. The *-um* genitive is regular in the 'distributive' and *trini* is preferred to *terni* with nouns that have no singular, Neue-Wagener *Formenlehre* II.³ 322. Cicero *De domo* 41. 'si quod in ceteris legibus *trinum nundinum* esse oportet, id in adopti-one satis est *trium* esse *horarum* nihil reprehendo.' In later Latin *trinus* (whence *trinity*) had a very considerable vogue.

The common use with numeral adverbs claims a word. Normally we have 'bis *bini*,' etc., not 'bis *duo*,' etc. which would be poetical. 'bis bina sunt quattuor' ('Twice two is four'), Cic. etc., means properly, 'take a packet of two twice and you get four.' To an early Roman *bis duo* would have suggested a strange operation. The collective sense is traceable also in the expressions for numbers regarded as wholes or in themselves. Hence we get from the 'distributive' stem: *bin-io*, *tern-io*, *sen-io*, etc. Also the formations *bin-arius* *tern-arius* and the more common *den-arius*, etc., *consisting of* two, three, ten, etc.

The 'distributive' use proper is subordinate and derivative, and Brugmann well compares the use of compounds with *σύν* as

σύνδυο Xen. *Anab.* vi. 3. 2 ὅποια δὲ [κώμη] μέζων ἐδόκει εἶναι σύνδυο λόχους ἦγον οἱ στρατηγοί. This may be seen from e.g., Plaut. *Pers.* 471 'nam ego hodie compendi feci *binos* panis in dies,' 'I have made a saving of a couple of loaves for everyday,' *Poen.* 222 '*binæ singulis* quæ datae nobis ancillæ,' 'a pair of maids to each of us,'¹

The usage with words which have no singular in use, or a different sense in singular and plural, shows an interesting transference of meaning. *littera* is a single letter or character, *litteræ* 'a group of characters,' 'a piece of writing.' *binæ litteræ* could mean 'a two-group of characters' or 'two-groups of characters' (as we may see from *ternæ* in Plautus l.c. supra). But it was not much wanted in these senses; so it was utilized by being made to mean not 'two-groups of letters' one or more, but 'two letter-groups,' 'two pieces of writing.' A somewhat analogous shifting may be seen in the illogical expression of Plautus *Pseud.* 302 '*annorum* lex me perdit *quinauicenaria*,' which means the lex relating to persons who are under the age *quinum uicenum annorum*.

J. P. POSTGATE.

¹ If we choose, we may regard *singuli* as a real distributive, 'one at a time.' It is an isolated form that came into the system later. O. Latin has *prius* in the same sense.

REVIEWS

PRE-SOCRATIC PHILOSOPHY.

Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker. Griechisch und Deutsch. Von HERMANN DIELS. 2. Auflage, 1. Band. Pp. xii + 456. Berlin: Weidmann, 1906. M. 10.

De Platone Præ-Socraticorum philosophorum existimatore et iudice. R. H. WOLTJER. Pars prior. Pp. iii + 219. Leiden: Brill, 1904.

THE first edition of Diels's important work was noticed at length in the *Classical Review* for 1904 (xviii. pp. 217 ff.); and no extended

comment is required on the present occasion. The substance, plan, and arrangement of the book are unchanged, but it has been subjected to a thorough revision in detail, so that many particulars which were formerly open to criticism have now disappeared. The new edition is reduced in bulk to the extent of about a hundred pages by the omission of the Appendix, which contained the fragments of the cosmologists and sophists. This is relegated to the supplementary volume, comprising critical matter

and indices, the appearance of which is still eagerly awaited. The author himself admits that it is necessary for the full appreciation of his work.

The additional citations are not numerous or important: among the more interesting we may select the introduction of Euripides as an imitator of Xenophanes in *H.F.* 1341 ff. and fr. 282, the quotation from the Scholiast on Nicander in illustration of the Heraclitean law of *ἐναντιότης* on p. 59 (where in l. 31 we should surely read τὸ γὰρ α ἐπιτακτικόν ἐστίν), and the comparison of the human soul to a spider on p. 72. But there are few pages of the book that do not contribute something to our knowledge of these early writers. I will take one illustration from Empedocles' theory of respiration (fr. 100). Here Diels is unquestionably right in translating *λίφαιμοι σίριγγες* by 'blutarme Röhren,' for Aristotle's paraphrase is conclusive that *λίφαιμοι* does not mean 'bloodless.' Hence we must correct L. and S., and Jebb's note on *Soph. Ai.* 1412. In the difficult lines (18 f.) of the same passage respecting the experiment of the clepsydra, Diels rightly preserves *ισθμοῖο δυνσηχέος*, and refers *πύλας* to the upper orifice; but I think something could be said for placing the comma after *ἐρύκει* rather than after *δυνσηχέος*, so that *ἄκρα κρατύνων* might go with *ἀμφὶ πύλας*.

Prof. Diels is certainly to be congratulated on the fact that in little more than three years a second edition of his book should have become necessary. This may be taken as a measure at once of the need formerly felt, and of the completeness with which the gap has been filled. For it cannot be too strongly emphasised how necessary is an acquaintance with the pre-Socratics for the student of Greek philosophy. The pre-eminence of Plato and Aristotle, accentuated by the facilities offered for their study in the survival of their most important works, has overshadowed the reputation of their predecessors; and there is a danger of these being regarded mainly as ingenious triflers, whose unverified guesses have no philosophical importance. It is not necessary to consider whether Empedocles and Democritus may be rightly styled the forerunners

of our modern physicists and biologists; but we must not forget that to the early Greek thinkers, who first undertook the investigation of truth untrammelled by authority or tradition, is due the inception of the scientific spirit. To open up scientific questions for solution as such, instead of acquiescing in the ignorance and indifference of their age, and to insist on the unconditional supremacy of reason were services of inestimable value to posterity.

To take another point of view, it is impossible to understand Plato without some knowledge of the influence exerted on him by Heraclitus and Parmenides. But those who turn to Woltjer's dissertation for enlightenment in this respect will be doomed to disappointment. It is to be wished that the author had laid more deeply to heart the warning of Plato which he cites with approval:—περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων, ἐπειδὴ καὶ πάρεργα τυγχάνει λεγόμενα, ἀποστῶμεν· εἰ δὲ μή, πλείω αἰεὶ ἐπιρρέοντα καταχώσει ἡμῶν τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς λόγον (*Theaet.* 177 B). Unfortunately, this is exactly what has happened. The *πάρεργα* are such matters as the genuineness of certain dialogues, the importance of fixing the proper limitations of the subject, the meaning of *φιλόσοφος*, and many more. The result is that we do not reach the threshold of the real argument until p. 129. The remainder of the volume is occupied with a discussion of Plato's allusions to Orpheus; and the only conclusion arrived at is that Plato cannot be proved to have regarded the poems popularly attributed to Orpheus as being actually his work. The Orphics as distinguished from Orpheus, together with all the pre-Socratic philosophers, are held over for another volume. I will only say that in his treatment of *Tim.* 40 c the author fails to mention the evidence of Proclus, which is the strongest part of the case against him.

It is to be regretted that so much industry has been misapplied owing to a faulty method of execution. The writer shows himself quite capable of sifting and appraising his material, if he would confine himself within a moderate compass.

A. C. PEARSON.

TACITUS THE LIAR.

Le Génie de Tacite : la Création des Annales.

Par EUGÈNE BACHA. Bruxelles : H. Lamertin ; Paris : F. Alcan, 1906. Pp. 324. 8vo. Fr. 4.

THE *Annals* are an extravagant romance, gravely facetious and maliciously false. Tacitus is a liar and a poet, infected with 'l'hystérie du mensonge' ; driven by the law of his genius to invent absurdities in pairs, and to impose them on a gullible age. When he refers to the *commentarii senatus*, to the memoirs of Agrippina and Corbulo, or to the histories of Pliny, Cluvius, and Fabius Rusticus, he lies.

Such is M. Bacha's theme, set forth in his first two chapters. There follows a detailed examination of the element of invention in the *Annals*, under the four heads of the debates of the senate, the provinces and the frontiers, the charges of high treason under Tiberius, and the dramas of the palace. After a short epilogue comes a long appendix, containing, with much else, a review of the evidence afforded by writers older than Tacitus for the reigns of Tiberius, Claudius, and Nero—the most valuable part of the book.

But Suetonius? Dio? Nay, they are slavish copyists. After Suetonius had sketched his lives of the emperors, he fell in with his contemporary's work, and borrowed all that was new ; generalising from this lie, paraphrasing that, developing here and abridging there, and adding on occasion quotations from the poets or doggerel of his own.¹ Subsequent historians are all under Tacitus' spell.

But Suetonius is not the only contemporary of Tacitus whose works survive. I do not know if M. Bacha is acquainted with the letters of the younger Pliny, but he will find some interesting reading in vii. 29 and viii. 6. Among the inventions of Tacitus M. Bacha includes the proposal to give

fifteen million sesterces and the praetorian ornaments to Pallas.² Now Pliny had the curiosity to inspect this decree of the senate and the mention of it on the freedman's tomb, and his report from both quarters is in close agreement with Tacitus' account. What is the inference? Clearly that Pliny was in the plot : that he lied to cover the lie of his friend. I tremble for the eruption of Vesuvius in 79.³

The reader may have guessed that I do not think well of this book. It is unscholarly, reckless in accusation, unscrupulous in insinuation, ill written (for French), and ill arranged. It is not worthy of elaborate disproof. The effect of it, to my mind, is to leave Tacitus' reputation just as good, or just as bad, as it was. Yet it will not have been written in vain if it gives new life to the Tacitean question. Criticism has done little as yet to justify, and at the same time to limit, the mistrust which Tacitus awakes at every turn. Surely no historian was ever less competent 'zu sagen, wie es eigentlich gewesen ist.' His thought seems to move in the twilight between true and false. We mistrust in particular his speeches, his imputation of motives, and the details of his frontier wars ; and, above all, his reports of gossip, whether he accepts or rejects it, or rejects and then accepts. Where his materials were inadequate, he breathed on the dry bones, as historians will and must ; but we feel that his was a poisonous breath. When he speaks of early times, or of countries beyond his ken, his mistakes are easy to see, if not to correct ; but the central events of his own period are harder to test. A first requisite is the reconstruction of the history of the first century from such sources as are innocent of Tacitus, and from such sources alone ; and in this M. Bacha's appendix may be of assistance. That is the best that I can say for him.

E. HARRISON.

² P. 57 n. ; xii. 53.

¹ M. Bacha suggests that texts of Suetonius might distinguish his loans from Tacitus by a difference of type (p. 34) ; and he gives a specimen, which may serve as a warning, if not as an example, to anyone who undertakes this task.

³ The elder Pliny too bears witness to the senate's adulation of freedmen under Claudius. M. Bacha's appendix refers to this evidence (p. 242), but here as elsewhere his text knoweth not what his appendix doeth.

SCHANZ'S HISTORY OF ROMAN LITERATURE: VOL. III.

Geschichte der römischen Litteratur bis zum Gesetzgebungswerk des Kaisers Justinian. Von MARTIN SCHANZ. III. Hadrian 117 to Constantine 324. Zweite Auflage. München: Beck, 1905. Pp. xvi + 512. M.9 paper; M.10.80 cloth.

WHAT Ribbeck did for Latin poetry, Schanz has done for the whole literature. In no part of the work were his eminent qualities more necessary than in the volume of which the second edition is now before us. For those whose interest is confined to Rome's pagan writers, the period from Hadrian to Constantine is indeed barren. Even if the *Pervigilium Veneris* is to be assigned to it (a somewhat doubtful point), the excellence of that poem can in no way atone for the poverty of other verse of the period, the recipes of Sammonicus Serenus, for instance, or Nemesian's eclogues. In prose, we fall after Apuleius to the level of such third-rate writers as Suetonius, Fronto, and Gellius. Only in jurisprudence can we find two names of distinction, and even Dr. Schanz cannot endear the names of Gaius and Ulpian to the lovers of Roman literature. Very different is the position which the period must occupy in the minds of those who take the broader view of Roman literature, and can appreciate the freshness and vigour of the Christian springs now rising to the surface. It is unfortunate that theological disputation so often plays here the part which the dragon played in connection with the fresh fountains of classical mythology. The battle with these monsters gave Dr. Schanz no little trouble (witness the preface to the first edition of this volume), but he must feel amply repaid by the result, and grateful indeed should the purely literary reader be for the skilful handling which brings them forth from their lairs in so chastened and subdued a frame of mind.

In the second edition everything has been thoroughly revised and brought up to date. Apart from much re-arrangement and improvement of the large-type paragraphs, several entirely new ones have been intro-

duced, and the necessity of introducing extensive changes into the numeration has been avoided. In the pagan part of the work we find new paragraphs dealing with the *mimographi* of the period and the lost speeches of Fronto. In the Christian literature, three of the Cyprianic *apocrypha* which received little or no treatment in the first edition, as being post-Constantinian, are now awarded a paragraph apiece. Another new paragraph was needed for the so-called *Tractatus Origenis* published by Batiffol since the first edition of the *Geschichte* appeared. Dr. Schanz, in refusing to suggest an author for the work, utters a timely protest against the excessive desire to bring anonymous works into connexion with certain definite authors. Future editors of the *Aetna* should lay it to heart. The bulk of the changes, however, affect mainly the small-type paragraphs. Many of the authors included in the volume have been worked upon with energy in recent years, and in the Christian literature many corrections and amplifications have been rendered necessary by the appearance of such books as the second volume of Harnack's *Geschichte der altchristl. Litt.* or Monceaux's *Histoire Littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne*. Many of these paragraphs have increased to at least double their original size. In all, these changes have swollen the number of pages from 410 to 512, including the great desideratum of ed. 1, a good index.

I conclude with a few brief notes which may be of interest. § 514. The writer on Metric is now called simply Terentianus: there seems little evidence for the additional *Maurus*. § 519. The introductory letter (in prose) which precedes the Cato collection is no longer regarded as genuine. § 531. Reifferscheid's theory that Diomedes' *de poematibus* represents the introduction to the poets' section of Suetonius' *de viris illustribus* is no longer maintained. § 532. Suetonius' *περὶ τῆς Κικέρωνος πολιτείας* is interpreted to mean 'on Cicero's political career,' not 'on C.'s treatise, the Republic.' § 563. The so-called prologue of Apuleius' *de deo Socratis*

consists of five independent fragments, all belonging to the *Florida* (the view of P. Thomas). § 614. Full use is made of an inscription discovered in 1899 near Hadrumetum which gives details of the life of Solinus Julianus. § 617. Pompon. Dig. 45. 3. 39 *quod Gaius noster dixit* is accepted as a reference to the great jurist. § 663. The codex Fuldensis of Tertullian contained in chap. 19 a considerable insertion, the so-called *fragmentum Fuldense*. This was formerly, and in Schanz's first edition, regarded as an interpolation, but the view now held as to the merits of the Fulda MS. has brought a swing of the pendulum and the note upon the fragment now finds a place among the authentic works. § 707. The list of Cyprian's works given in the life by Pontius contains the clause *quis denique tot confessores frontium notatarum secunda inscriptione signatos et ad exemplum martyrii superstites reservatos incentiuo tubae caelestis animaret?* This was formerly taken to refer to the *de laude martyrii*, but that work is now regarded as apocryphal, and as Pontius' list is unassailable Schanz accepts Monceaux's explanation that the reference is to Ep. 76.

§ 756 (p. 456: cp. also p. 473). In the *De opificio dei* and *Divinae institutiones* we find in one class of MS. alone certain passages which reveal a dualistic tone, or a tendency to eulogise Constantine. Pichon's view is now adopted, that these passages, so far from being interpolations, are from Lactantius: at some later period, when the interest in Constantine had declined and the dualistic theory had become a heresy, a new edition was brought out, in which these passages were suppressed. § 772. Zahn's theory that Tertullian himself translated the Bible quotations which he makes is abandoned, and the definite statement, 'It is not advisable to assume a *single* author for the Itala,' replaces a much vaguer sentence of the earlier edition.

In conclusion, may one point out to foreign publishers the desirability of sending bound copies of works intended for review? The difference between a neatly bound copy and the wreck that lies beside me as I write is represented by less than a couple of marks.

WALTER C. SUMMERS.

Sheffield.

THE CATALOGUE OF THE SPARTA MUSEUM.

A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum. By M. N. TOD, M.A., Assistant Director of the British School at Athens, Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, and A. J. B. WACE, M.A., Student of the British School at Athens, Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. viii + 249. Eighty-five figures in text. 10s. 6d. net.

THIS is a volume which is welcome both for its own sake, and as marking, in some ways, a new departure. It is, of course, no new thing for foreign archaeologists to make catalogues of Greek collections: there are full and recent catalogues of the bronzes and the vases in Athens by members of the French School; and an earlier catalogue of the Sparta Museum itself—a work to which the present

authors fully acknowledge their obligation—was published by Dressel and Milchhoefer of the German School. But this is the first time that such a work has been undertaken by the British School at Athens, and it comes most appropriately as the first-fruits of the work of that school in Laconia. It might perhaps seem that a museum catalogue should form the conclusion rather than the preface to a systematic campaign of excavations. But a catalogue so thorough and systematic as this will be most useful to the explorers and excavators in the course of their work, and, indeed, offers an excellent foundation for the study of the local antiquities of Laconia.

A Greek local museum, which contains not only the products of chance discovery or of excavation, but also the patriotic gifts of local citizens, is necessarily very miscellaneous in

character. On the one hand it includes inscriptions and reliefs familiar to students from their handbooks, and some even that are more widely known. On the other hand there are minute or illegible portions of inscriptions, boxes of indistinguishable architectural or sculptural fragments, and even, to conclude the tale, a stuffed crocodile. The two editors have very wisely supplemented their detailed enumeration and description by full introductions, in which they have given summaries of our knowledge of Laconian epigraphy and of Laconian art, making the best use of the contents of the museum for illustration, and supplementing them by the quotation of material that has been removed elsewhere. The most interesting part of Mr. Tod's introduction to the inscriptions is that which deals with the Spartan magistrates and officials. Here he has of course predecessors, whose work he acknowledges, in Boeckh, Foucart, and others; but the summary which he gives will be very convenient even for those familiar with the larger works. It is impossible, except by use of the catalogue in the museum itself, to test the accuracy of the readings given of the inscriptions. But those who know Mr. Tod's work will feel confidence in their accuracy: his copies will be valuable when the Berlin Corpus reaches Laconia. He has been content for the most part to give only a cursive transcription together with notes of the forms of letters used. The necessity for economising space evidently precluded any other treatment.

Mr. Wace's introduction to the sculpture gives an excellent account of the two most characteristic series of Laconian reliefs—those with a hero, usually enthroned, and those dedicated to the Dioscuri. In the first of these, which were usually set up over tombs, Mr. Wace is inclined to see an intention to represent the deceased as he was in life,

and as rejoicing in the pleasures of the feast, rather than any definite allusion to funeral offerings or libations. This theory brings them into line with other Greek funeral reliefs; but it must be confessed that the Spartan heroes, with their small worshippers, suggest an allusion to the cult of the dead; and such an allusion is not inconsistent with a representation of them as enjoying the offerings that are brought. The transference of the type to Dionysus, Asclepius, and other divinities seems to show that the notion of worship and offerings was implied. Mr. Wace's suggestions as to the twin Dioscuri and Helen, and their connexion with the birth-goddess and 'di nixi' are interesting, and worth a more detailed investigation. The sketch of Spartan art goes far to vindicate its distinctive character, as a branch of the 'Daedalid' style imported from Crete; and, in a paragraph at the end, Prof. Klein's attempt to affiliate it to Ionian art is rightly contested. The catalogue of the sculpture is illustrated by numerous small blocks, drawn by Mr. F. Anderson from photographs: they suffice to show the types and general character of the various statues and reliefs, and add greatly to the usefulness of the book. Among the miscellaneous antiquities are selected examples of the leaden figurines which are recorded as found at the Menelaum, the Amyclaeum, and 'on the right bank of the Eurotas.' When the catalogue was written, these had not yet led to the discovery of the shrine of Artemis Orthia. Our best wish to the authors of the catalogue is that a supplement may soon be called for, to record the rich additions accruing to the Museum from the Laconian excavations of the British School at Athens.

E. A. GARDNER.

COLASANTI'S *FREGELLAE*.

Fregellae, Storia e Topografia. By GIOVANNI COLASANTI. Rome: Loescher & Co., 1906. 8vo. Pp. viii. 225 + 3. 2 Maps. 6 lire.

THE present volume is, as the preface (by Professor Beloch) explains, the first of a series entitled *Biblioteca di Geografia Storica* (*Library of Historical Geography*). The institution in 1901 at the University of Rome of a course of lectures in ancient geography, to be delivered by Prof. Beloch himself, has led to the adoption by several of the students of subjects relating to it for their degree theses. Certain of these—one may cite N. Iacobone, *Ricerche sulla storia e la topografia di Canosa antica* (Canosa, 1905); I. Raimondi, *I. Frentanistudio storico-topografico* (Camerino, 1906); Melchiori, *Storia e topografia di Forum novum in Sabina* (Foligno, 1905)—have already been published separately; but it has wisely been decided that in future they shall appear uniformly. The proposal is to 'illustrate by a series of monographs those ancient towns of Italy—that is to say very many if not the majority—upon which no works which will satisfy the exigencies of modern scientific research as yet exist.' Such works are, further, intended for local use—to spread in the town with which they deal the knowledge of its own history and antiquities. For—and to this I can testify from my own experience—the many works which already exist upon the history of the different towns of Italy were written either at a period anterior to the rise of any scientific treatment of antiquity, or by authors who had not the requisite training. The volumes of this series will, therefore, deal with the political and religious history, with the public institutions and the economic life of each town, besides discussing the topographical conditions and the ancient remains still existing, with plans and illustrations where necessary. A full bibliography will be included, and the relevant passages of classical authors; and, so far as possible, the inscriptions will be given in full.

The authors will, as far as possible, select localities already well known to them; while the general editor, Prof. Beloch, will be mainly responsible for the general method of treatment rather than the details of each monograph.

The volumes at present in preparation will deal with Pinna, Fabrateria Nova—these two by Signor Colasanti—the district of Sybaris, Mevania, Aquinum, Telesia, and Histonium. This last will be written by Signor Raimondi.

The programme is an eminently practical and useful one, and, if carried through, will form a very considerable and valuable addition to our sources of information. Such a series is, indeed, exactly what is most wanted in Italy, where it is often extremely hard to obtain a scientific description of the ancient remains existing at any particular site, a list of the discoveries, etc. If an interest, too, can be created locally in the antiquities of each place, that will be the best possible guarantee for their preservation.

The prefaces to the inscriptions of each town in the *Corpus* do not deal with topography to any extent, thus missing, to my mind, an opportunity of being even more useful than they already are; and Prof. Hülssen's valuable articles in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyclopädie* are of necessity brief, not to mention the fact that this great work naturally progresses somewhat slowly.

The present volume seems to promise well for the future of the undertaking. It may be thought by the general reader—and not, perhaps, unjustly—that it is a good deal longer than the interest of its subject would justify. But it is only fair to remember that it is, as the preface says, intended to appeal to local readers, and not to assume in them knowledge that they do not possess.

The book thus begins with a general survey of the lower course of the Liris, and then proceeds to a description of the site of Fregellae. About this there have been several erroneous theories, which are duly criticized and exposed. The first to identify

the true site (here as in several other cases) was the French Abbé, Capmartin de Chaupy (*Maison de Campagne d'Horace*. Rome, 1767-9, iii. 475).

It lay on the left bank of the Liris, hardly half-a-mile to the east of the modern town of Ceprano, and was of importance owing to its command of the crossing of the river. It was thus occupied early—first, it is said (*Dionys. ap. Steph. s.v.*) by the Opici, then by the Volscians. It seems to have been destroyed by the Samnites rather before 330 B.C., in which year we find the people of the neighbouring Fabrateria (Fabrateria Vetus, the modern Ceccano) offering to submit to the Romans if the latter would protect them against the Samnites (Liv. viii. 19).

In 328 the Romans founded a Latin colony at Fregellae, and this was the chief cause of the war which broke out two years later. The Samnites captured the place in 320, but it was retaken and recolonized in 313 (Diodorus, xix. 101). Thenceforth it remained faithful to Rome, rendering especially valuable service by delaying Hannibal's advance in 212 B.C. by breaking down the bridges over the Liris; and it was a native of Fregellae who headed the deputation of the non-revolting colonies in 209 B.C. The 100 Carthaginian hostages taken by Scipio were placed here in 201-200. It seems to have become a place of considerable importance from a passage in Livy (xli. 8), in which, referring to 177 B.C., he says that the Samnites and Paeligni complained that no less than 4,000 families had transferred their residence thither. Our author rightly suspects some exaggeration, having regard to the extent of the site of Fregellae (p. 148). At the same time the Latin colonies, with Fregellae at their head, were protesting against the migration to Rome of most of those of their inhabitants who enjoyed Roman citizenship (Liv. *ibid.*; cf. Cic. *Brut.* 46 *apud maiores nostros video disertissimum habitum ex Latio L. Papirium Fregellanum Ti. Gracchi P. f. fere aetate* (he was consul in this very year): *eius etiam oratio est pro Fregellanis colonisque Latinis habita in senatu*). Fregellae thus seems to have been a place of very considerable importance—per-

haps even the second city of Italy, as Mommsen (*History of Rome*, I. 341) supposes, and it was here that in 125 B.C., after the rejection of the proposals of M. Fulvius Flaccus for facilitating the acquisition of Roman civic rights, a revolt broke out against Rome. The place was, however, captured in the same year by treachery and destroyed, being reduced to the condition of a mere village. Its place was, however, taken by the new colony of Fabrateria Nova, founded in 124 B.C. three miles to the S.E. on the opposite bank of the river, which seems to have entered into the possession of its territory (the bounds of which the author, in the somewhat lengthy concluding chapter (Pp. 183-225) attempts to fix); while we find the post-station of Fregellanum (mod. Ceprano) also on the right bank of the river mentioned in the Itineraries.

Signor Colasanti deals at some length with the site itself and the question of the crossing of the Liris. No less than four ancient bridges exist, or are known to have existed, in the neighbourhood of Ceprano—that at the east end of the modern town, another a little below it (the latter of secondary importance), and two more in the neighbourhood of Fabrateria Nova (a little to the east of it, where the river makes a sharp bend, which the road would thus cut off); and our author is probably right (p. 64) in maintaining that after the destruction of Fregellae the Via Latina still traversed its site, and crossed the river three times in all, against Mommsen (*C.I.L.* x. p. 547), who considers that, after its destruction, the Via Latina only crossed the Liris once, at the lowest bridge¹ of all, close to the village of S. Giovanni in Carico. Whether, on the other hand, Signor Colasanti is right in maintaining (p. 60 *seq.*) that before the destruction of Fregellae the Via Latina only crossed the Liris once, going direct from there to Aquinum, is not so clear to me; and in either case he might have done more to prove his theories by giving us further information as to the exact course of the

¹ Of this bridge one pillar only now exists. A drawing by Sir R. Colt Hoare in my collection shows the arch as complete (*Classical Tour*, 208). *C.I.L.* x. 6890, 6892, 6893 allude to successive repairs to it.

Via Latina between the bridges and other fixed points which he describes—if indeed there is any evidence available.

Upon the site itself the remains are scanty: a certain number of votive terracottas have been found, and may be referred to the temple of Neptune, which continued to exist on the site; a fragment of what the author believes to be the city wall has been laid bare and covered up again (p. 101), and scattered remains of buildings—most of which seem to belong, from the description, to the period after 125 B.C. But the site is now entirely under cultivation, and has never been systematically excavated; and there seem to be no records of discoveries of any

great importance.¹ No inscriptions whatever seem to have been found, and that indeed we should expect; but it is very possible that a proper exploration of the deeper strata might give us important information as to the condition of an Italian town in the last quarter of the second century B.C.: and it might be worth the while of the Department of Antiquities to consider whether experimental investigations should not be undertaken. THOMAS ASHBY.

¹ It is worth mentioning that in speaking of the ruins of the imperial period at S. Angelo (p. 220) he omits to cite the passage in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1884, 161, describing discoveries which seem to have shown that the building was a set of baths.

FORESHORTENING IN GREEK ART.

La Genesi dello Scorcio nell' Arte Greca. By DOTTOR ALESSANDRO DELLA SETA. Reale Accademia dei Lincei, 1907. Pp. 124 and 15 Plates.

THIS is a remarkable study, to do justice to which would require a long article. Della Seta is a distinguished pupil of Emanuel Loewy, and approaches the problems of frontality and of foreshortening in the footsteps of the scholar 'who first turned his attention to a study of Greek art from the point of view of spatial dimension.' To the term 'frontality' current since the researches of Lange and Loewy, della Seta prefers 'parallelism,' which expresses the net result of our apprehension of bidimensionality alone, *i.e.* of height and breadth, while 'foreshortening' (*scorcio*) made possible by the introduction of the oblique line (*obliquità*) is the result of our apprehension of the third dimension or depth. To replace parallelism by foreshortening was, according to della Seta, the supreme achievement of Greek art which handed on foreshortening to be 'the patrimony of all the peoples who entered directly or indirectly within the pale of Greek civilization; that is, it passed through Christian art into the art of all Europe, and it passed through Buddhist art into the art of

all Asia.' Outside Greece there is no foreshortening is della Seta's axiom, but wherever we find its traces we may feel certain that the Greek element has penetrated. A great part of the monograph is accordingly occupied in tracing this Greek influence in the arts of Asia. Perhaps the most notable part of a very notable essay treats of the history and development of Graeco-Buddhist art—of its advance into China in the first century A.D., whence it spread into Corea, Japan, and the neighbouring regions.

Incidentally to his æsthetic and historic study of Greek art in its contact with the Asiatic religions, della Seta draws a fine picture of the aniconic religion of Buddha in the East falling, like the aniconic religion of Christ in the West, under the spell of the historic-narrative art initiated in Greece and further developed in Rome. The weapons offered by art were too powerful to be despised, yet to portray Buddha himself—to fix the form of him who had denied the absolute value of any form in the world of phenomena—must have seemed the rudest blow dealt to his teaching, and the Buddhism of Northern India therefore at first effected a compromise by accepting the scenes from the life of Buddha, but by suppressing his image. 'But Buddhism had in vain hoped to save its

aniconic tendency by these means. The first breach was opened, and much time did not elapse before it was fatally constrained to accept the figure of Buddha, and moreover to accept it in the classic shape of the school of Gandhara' (sculptures of Amarâvati). Della Seta thus reverses the usually accepted theory of the relative ages of the art of Gandhara and of that of India proper (pp. 17 ff.).

Della Seta differs both from Loewy and Lange in denying that the statue 'in the free'—or as it is inaccurately called 'in the round'—develops of itself from frontality into an organic whole, since *all* arts, if untouched by Greek influence, are arrested in their growth at the stage of 'parallelism.' Now what is it, he asks then, that helped Greek art to the discovery of foreshortening (which brings in its train liberation from parallelism) but remained unknown to the art of the rest of humanity? The answer he finds in the development of Greek relief, and in its influence on sculpture 'in the round.' Relief in Greek art was early confined to definite parts of the building—hence its gradual development towards full 'corporeity' became possible without injury to the structural quality of the building decorated, whereas in Egypt or India, for instance, where whole walls are adorned with relief, the relief could not gain in depth or corporeity without impairing the solidity of the structure. But once given 'corporeity,' differentiation of depth—variation, that is, of relief—and the ultimate conquest of the oblique line and of foreshortening follow as a matter of course. Della Seta might further strengthen his thesis by showing that when, in the Roman art of the second century A.D. the fashion arose of covering with sculpture whole columns and arches, artists abandoned in a measure the search for 'corporeity,' and applied themselves once more to surface decoration.

Of the spaces thus reserved by Greek art for sculptured decoration the most important is the pediment, and it is in the evolution of its decoration from design to figures carved completely 'in the round' that della Seta's theories can be best appreciated. Students of Greek art will find much to learn from the passage where he deals with the archaic

pediments from the Akropolis and with those of Aegina. The statuary that thus arises from relief or design in relief (*sculptura disegnativa*) brings to frontal statuary the gift of movement which 'parallelism' had altogether lacked, and with the conquest of movement it becomes possible to co-ordinate harmoniously the parts to the whole.

The discovery of perspective, of the right relation of objects to one another in space, is a further step in the same process, and its first principles were certainly grasped by the Greeks and developed by the Romans—a point to which I have lately drawn attention elsewhere. But perspective, though discovered by the ancients, was really never applied by them in all its possibilities, and della Seta is wrong, I think, in attributing to the Greeks anything like a final mastery of its rules (See my *Roman Sculpture* p. 115, etc.). Elsewhere also I have tried to indicate the probable causes which checked the development of perspective in the Roman art of the early second century and caused art to return gradually and for a period that lasted several centuries to 'frontality' or what della Seta calls 'parallelism.' In the present monograph I find further confirmation of my views, though della Seta goes further than Riegl himself in seeking the causes for the change in the religious temper of the period. The new 'struggle between parallelism and the traditional obliquity represents a deeper struggle between instinct and tradition: in this latest propensity to parallelism lurks the fundamental characteristic of the two religions—the Buddhist and the Christian, which, despising form and looking only to a moral redemption, rose by the side of paganism and triumphed on its ruins. With the *intransigence* of a new ardour these religions distinguished in the world only one relation (*rapporto*)—that between the worshipper and the worshipped. The first dissociated himself from all externals to concentrate himself in the contemplation of the other, the other freed himself from the trammels of action . . . and offered himself in full frontal aspect to the devoted homage of the adorer.' And the remarkable monograph closes with a magnificent and inspiring sketch of the

different doctrines of Buddhist and of Christian art—the two arts which, after resisting the antique, yield to its influence, create for themselves an incomparable religious iconography, and eventually dominate the two sides of the civilized world.

The numerous illustrations (distributed over fifteen plates) are yet not numerous enough to make clear all the difficult arguments.

EUGÉNIE STRONG.

GRUNDBEGRIFFE DER KUNSTWISSENSCHAFT.

Grundbegriffe der Kunstwissenschaft. Am Uebergang vom Altertum zum Mittelalter kritisch erörtert und in systematischem Zusammenhange dargestellt. By AUGUST SCHMARSOW. Pp. ix + 350. Leipzig and Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1905. M. 9.

LIKE other distinguished modern critics, Schmarsow looks upon the problems of the late antique 'as the most decisive in the whole history of humanity' (this *dictum* is, I believe, Strzygowski's), though by selecting this transitional period for special study he has merely fixed on a focussing point for speculations which range far and wide over the art of antiquity.

From the first a welcome note is struck, marking the continuance of the reaction inspired by Alois Riegl against the more materialistic views that have been so unjustly held to emanate from the illustrious Gottfried Semper. The position of the two schools is lucidly set out in Schmarsow's Introduction. The principle that the work of art is a mere 'mechanical product, compounded of the utilitarian purpose in view, the raw material, and the technique,' is ably contrasted with Riegl's counter-assertion that the work of art is 'the result of a decisive aim and conscious exercise of the will which achieves its end in a struggle with utilitarian purpose, raw material, and technique.' The whole book, then, is an expansion of the latter doctrine; but Schmarsow is no slavish follower of Riegl, whom he corrects and criticizes in not a few points, and even out-

strips in the search for the underlying causes which govern the unquestioning acceptance, at different times, of given effects. Like Riegl and like della Seta, whose monograph is noticed above, Schmarsow is much occupied with the return to 'frontality' of Constantinian art, and, like della Seta, sees in this phase not only an aesthetic development, but one that is controlled by religious ideas which coincided with the rise of Christianity.

To the archaeologist, one of the most interesting chapters is the last but one, on 'the mental factors (*geistige Mächte*) in the representative arts,' with its comprehensive criticism of the leading theories now before the public.

At times Schmarsow shows himself an excellent critic in the more restricted sense, as in his fine description of the Naples mosaic with the battle of Alexander and his chapters on the growth of the spatial idea in buildings.

This book and della Seta's have one great merit in common. They show that a new scientific method of looking at art, which may be called the psycho-physical, is taking the place of the vague, metaphysical speculations about the 'beautiful' and the 'good' in art, which, through Hegel, can be traced back to Plato. It is of course deplorable that a book so full of new and difficult views should appear without illustrations, without an index, and even without an analytical table of contents.

E. S.

THE PROMETHEUS.

Aeschylus, Prometheus. With Introduction, Notes, and Critical Appendix. By JOSEPH EDWARD HARRY, Professor of Greek in the University of Cincinnati. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago, American Book Company, November 1904. Small 8vo. Preface and Introductions, 112 pp.; Text and Appendix, 222 pp.; Index, 12 pp. Numerous illustrations of myth. \$1.50.

THIS is a painstaking edition, with copious, even diffuse, illustrations from the literature and criticism of many nations. The Myth is treated well, but it would have been a good thing to print the story as it is in Hesiod and Plato's Protagoras, and to mention the part assigned to Prometheus in the Gorgias and in Ovid *Metamorphoses* i.; and Shelley, Prometheus Unbound iii. 1, might have been added. In dealing with the Myth, the editor ingeniously points out that Hephaestus is lame, 'because the human smith was lame. In the primitive community, a lame man was left at home to forge weapons for those who could fight.' So now in France those who cannot serve their training are taught military telegraphy. He might have added, too, the quaint story preserved in the Scholiast to Nicander, Ther. 343 (Sophocles, frag. Κωφοί, Nauck 334) of the thirsty donkey who sold for a drink of water his load of 'Ἀγγρασία—Zeus' reward to men, who ungratefully informed him of Prometheus' theft of fire for them.

The editor hardly brings out the significance of θνητούς γ' ἔπανσα μὴ προδέρκεσθαι μόρον—the figure that darkened the ancient horizon; and the curious accuracy of 450, ἔφυρον εἰκὴ πάντα, as confirmed by modern writers (Lang, *Myth Ritual and Religion*, i. 47 sq. 'the nebulous and confused state of mind' of savages). Perhaps, too, he is less successful as a textual than as a literary critic. The best illustration of this is his placing both Merkel's transcript and Rostagno's autotype together, without dwelling on the difference. His method of heaping together a number of conjectures

in an index less complete than Wecklein's, is to set the students the task of 'remembering readings,' as they call it. Now the English method of throwing into relief the MSS readings may be made a useful way of teaching simple criticism; but the other way is to cumber the memory, not sharpen the wits. And in the making of his text, the editor is behind Messrs. Willson and Sykes, whose edition is at present the best in the field. They have shown that M gives perfectly good readings, which he disregards.

For instance, 17 ἐξωριάζειν, 760 μανθάνειν. In 421, 667, 871 he deserts Willson and Sykes' convincing support of 'Ἀραβίας, πυρῶν' ἔν, σπόρος. The text which he adopts is not always convincing, 113 προυσελούμενον, 313 the old χόλον instead of the emendation ὕχλον; and in 561, πείθων 'wooing' is not as good as πῖθων 'winning'; but ἀπλάτου, 371, and 986 παῖδ' ὄντα are probably right. The list of English Editions he confesses is not complete, but mention should have been made of Mr. Morshead's translation, and Westcott's *Religious Thought in the West*, on the theology of Aeschylus.

In 801 he does not mention Wakefield's conjecture φροίμιον, which has not of late received proper consideration. The case for it is this: in 741 Prometheus says that he has not yet reached the 'prelude' (μηδέπω 'ν προοιμίῳ); therefore the lines 786 sqq. are clearly the 'prelude' (φροίμιον), which is rounded off with 801 τοιοῦτο μὲν σοι τοῦτο φροίμιον λέγω: compare the common formula in dismissing a subject, τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ ταῦτα. Again, the climax is 851, τέξεις: all that leads up to this is mere φροίμιον to Io. And he adopts the unsatisfactory course of bracketing 425-430 for insufficient reasons. But it is worth noticing that the text of M, with very slight changes, gives a perfectly satisfactory sense, thus: eject τε, correct ὑποστενάζει to ὑποστεργάζει, (cf. frag. 312 ἄθλον οὐρανοστεργῇ, of Atlas) and the passage runs literally 'I saw Atlas, how his surpassing mighty strength bears up the vault of heaven.' Two more suggestions may be offered for the second edition. May not the right reading in 331 be πάντων μετασχὼν σὺν τε τολμήσας ἐμοί; (τε τολμήσας so written were 'corrected' into τετολμηκώς.) And the claim of the four

lines quoted by Galen as coming from the Prometheus Vincetus, to a place in the play, may well be urged again. They need not follow ἡλιουστιβεῖς in 791; they may come after μῆνη ποτέ in 797; Galen quotes two fragments, heading the first Αἰσχύλος δὲ ἐν Προμηθεῖ Δεσμώτῃ, Εἰθεῖαν κ.τ.λ.; the second, ὁ αὐτός φησιν ἐν Προμηθεῖ, Ἐξευλαβοῦ κ.τ.λ. Now clearly what has happened is, that, in the second extract, Λυομένω has fallen out after Προμηθεῖ; not, as Hermann says, Aesch. vol. ii. 161, that both fragments are from the same Prometheus. The alternative is, that Δεσμώτῃ is a mistake for Λυομένω; if so, ὁ αὐτός φησιν ἐν Προμηθεῖ must mean the Vincetus, which is absurd, because two plays are being distinguished, and Ἐξευλαβοῦ κ.τ.λ. cannot belong to the Vincetus, and there is no other of the plays called Prometheus to which they are appropriate.

I may appear to have dwelt too much on

defects in this edition, but it seemed worth while pointing them out, for its weakness is not so much in the matter, as in the method. Another point suggests itself: amid excellent criticism and illustration adapted for a pupil, one comes across learned bits of specialism, in statistical syntax, let us say; thus: 'ἀνά: poet. = κατά (or παρά here), only once in Thuc., twice in the Orators; never as the first element in diprothetics.' The same method was noticeable in the editor's notes to Euripides' Hippolytus. Now, just as some of our best grammarians print the important but elementary sections of their grammars in large type, but the more advanced in smaller, might not the same expedient be adopted in those editions which, like this, are valuable both to learners and teachers?

J. U. POWELL.

Oxford.

SHORT NOTICES

De institutis reipublicae Atheniensium post Aristotelis aetatem commutatis I. By JOHS. SUNDWALL. (Acta Societatis scientiarum fennicae, tom. xxxiv, No. 4.) Helsingfors: Ex officina typographica Societatis litterariae fennicae. 1906. 11½" × 9". Pp. 26.

THE object of the essay before us is to examine the political changes which took place in Athens during the last quarter of the fourth century B.C. in the light both of all the available literary evidence and also of the inscriptions of the period. After a brief introduction and a useful bibliography, the author discusses the timocratic constitution set up in 3210 under the influence of Antipater. This constitution was short-lived, for at the beginning of 318 the popular party overthrew Phocion and his colleagues and elected new magistrates: with this revolution the second chapter deals. The restored democracy, however, was soon overthrown. Early in 317 Demetrius of Phalerum became governor and introduced those changes which

form the subject of Sundwall's third and longest chapter. He argues that the secretaries of the council (γραμματεῖς κατὰ πρυτανείαν) and the archons were chosen by election, and discusses also the disputed question of the institution of νομοφύλακες and γυναικονόμοι. A full account follows of the ἀγωνοθεσία, the longest-lived of the creations of Demetrius, and the work closes with an examination of the *ephebia* at this period, which goes to show that only those who possessed the hoplite census were enrolled among the *ephebi*.

The author seems to have done his work well and carefully, and even when the conclusions reached are not new it is interesting to find fresh arguments brought forward and fresh evidence adduced: the present monograph, indeed, is intended to supplement rather than to replace Spangenberg's valuable dissertation *de Atheniensium publicis institutis aetate Macedonum commutatis*, but students of this obscure period of Athenian history cannot afford to ignore this latest contribution to the

subject. Unfortunately it must be added that misprints abound, and though these do not affect the sense they seriously detract from the pleasure of reading the work.

M. N. TOD.

Epigraphische Beiträge zur sozial-politischen Geschichte Athens im Zeitalter des Demosthenes. By JOHNS. SUNDWALL. Leipzig: Dieterich [also published as Beiheft IV. of *Beiträge zur alten Geschichte*]. 1906. 11" x 7½". Pp. 6+92. M. 5.

THE utilization of Greek inscriptions for historical purposes may be divided into three stages which are logically, though not chronologically, distinct. The first of these consists in the discussion of individual inscriptions and the attempt to gain from them all the light they throw upon any aspect of Greek history. In the second the whole mass of published texts is examined with the view of illustrating a single, definite field of study, as, for example, in Ziebarth's admirable monograph, *Das griechische Vereinswesen*. Finally we have the work of the historian proper, who unites these scattered studies, giving to the results of each their due place and proportion in a comprehensive picture of Greek life and action.

It is to the second of these stages that the present work belongs. The author has set out to discover what the Attic inscriptions of the fourth century B.C., supplemented by the literary sources, teach us about the social condition of those who took the leading part in the public life of Athens during the period of Demosthenes' political activity. His main conclusion may be briefly stated in his own words (p. 74): 'The political influence of the propertied classes at Athens in no way diminished during the age of Demosthenes. In the most important branches of the administration, in the Council, as *strategi*, or as finance officers the propertied class had the upper hand: even the orators and politicians belonged as a rule to the higher strata of the citizen body. The political parties had not originated in the opposition of propertied and non-propertied classes, but in divergent views on foreign policy and the closely related conflict of economic

and personal interests.' In successive chapters lists are drawn up of the *bouleutae*, *strategi*, *diaetetae*, naval officials, financial officials, temple-presidents and cult officials, deme officials, ambassadors, and orators, whose names are known, and these are then carefully examined with a view of determining how many of them can be proved to have been wealthy or at least well-to-do. The most interesting study is that of the generals, including a continuation down to 322 B.C. of the useful list for the years 441 to 356 given in Beloch's *Attische Politik* (pp. 289 ff.). Two supplementary chapters, one on the priests of Asclepius, the other on the demes and their partition among the tribes, close the book, which, though marred by numerous minor errors of spelling and accentuation, may be warmly commended as a piece of careful and painstaking work.

M. N. TOD.

Studies in Virgil. By T. R. GLOVER. (Arnold.) 8vo. Pp. x+312.

I MUST apologize for my delay in noticing this most readable volume. I have indeed—if I may introduce a personal feeling—found myself rather of two minds about it. With part of its contents, and in particular with that part which is historical, I must confess to being in serious disagreement. For instance, Mr. Glover devotes a chapter to Augustus (chap. vii) and I dissent from the whole main thesis of the chapter. He begins by expressing astonishment that Horace and Virgil deified Augustus. To us (he says) the emperor seems a shrewd and successful adventurer, who had no ideas of his own and lived by assimilating those of his uncle and adoptive father. He is the middleman who comes in to utilize those gains which genius can indicate but not gather: he owes his success to his practical adroitness and his intellectual inferiority. In the words of M. Goumy he is 'ce trop habile homme, qui par peur des poignards n'organisa que le viager, and ne consacra que les mensonges.' Thus Mr. Glover. I think perhaps that for literary effect and dramatic contrast he has rather heightened his description. But even allowing for that, his estimate seems unfair. It is quite possible and permissible for scholars to differ about the character of Augustus—as, for that matter, of anyone else—and it is often a harmless and Platonic proceeding. But the differences in this case reach a point where facts begin to tell. For after all the Principate diverged so sharply in its constitution and its administrative system from the Autocracy of Julius that Augustus cannot be called an assimilator of the ideas of his uncle. It was indeed his consistent policy, so soon as he had shaken himself free from the opening events of the Triumvirate, to avoid following the ideas of his uncle in a whole series of details, which could easily be enumerated.

Moreover, his actual system contained so much that was novel that he cannot be called an assimilator. He was indeed extraordinarily adroit in adapting. He understood, as perhaps no other statesman has ever done, the supreme need of continuity, if he was to transform a pseudo-Republican oligarchical Rome into an inevitable autocracy. Generally, such changes have been managed by catastrophes and Reigns of Terror. The proscriptions of B.C. 43 gave a hint of such an epoch coming upon Rome. That it did not come, that the remnants of the oligarchy settled down in slowly diminishing resentment, is largely due to Augustus. That is not the work of a middleman. Nor again will it do to use the expression 'make-shift,' of a form of government which lasted with slight changes for three centuries and developed into a form which continued on long after. Such language merely confutes itself. In his interpretation of Augustus, I dissent widely from Mr. Glover.

But if as a grown-up Virgilian, I venture to criticize Mr. Glover, I am quite certain that if his book had been put into my hands when I was eighteen or twenty, I should have gained much stimulus and suggestion from it. It may not be full of excellent history. It unquestionably is full of excellent reading, and reading which sets a younger mind on fresh and interesting trains of thought. Indeed, I know from pupils of my own that it has had this most valuable effect. That, perhaps, is what Mr. Glover will care about most definitely. He tells us in his preface that he believes Latin literature can appeal on its own merits as literature to even indifferent scholars: he sees in this possibility of literary appeal a chance of saving classical education; and in this volume he has tried to treat Virgil so as to shew the force of the appeal. The result is naturally much more an educational volume than any addition to the knowledge of Virgilian specialists. It is also a volume of singular attractiveness. Mr. Glover's picture of Augustus, however great a misinterpretation, is striking and well drawn and coloured. It will provoke interest and curiosity: perhaps it will even correct itself. So too with much else in the volume—the comparison of the Dido episode with the 'Hippolytus' of Euripides, the sketch of Aeneas, the explanation of the mixed elements of the Sixth Aeneid and much more. All is stimulating and much is novel. The book should be in the hands of every young student and on the shelves of every school library.

F. H.

Select Epigrams from the Greek Anthology.

Edited, with revised text, translations, introduction, and notes, by J. W. MACKAIL. New edition, revised throughout. Longmans. 14s. net.

THIS book is so well known, has now so assured a place amongst books of fine scholarship, that the new edition needs no detailed review. We will therefore only call attention

to the nature of the revision. Ten epigrams of the first edition have been omitted, and twenty added, including the text of Meleager's *Garland*. The introduction has been revised and partly rewritten, additions being made on the anthology of Cephalos and the *ἐπιδεικτικά*. The other changes are minute, but instructive; and we have been interested to see not only what is added but what is left out.

In this book we see the quintessence of the Greek lyric, so far as it has survived the ravages of time. It is full of human interest, and has a special charm in its likeness and its unlikeness to the modern spirit. We hope that it may help in the support of Greek studies, and that Mr. Mackail's appeal to English scholars for a new comprehensive edition of the *Anthology* will not be forgotten.

Di un' ara Greca dedicatoria agli dei inferi, esistente nel Museo Archeologico di Milano.

By ARISTIDE CALDERINI. Milan: U. Hoepli, 1907. Pp. 34. 8 $\frac{5}{8}$ " × 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". Two plates.

A RARE instance of a sculptured altar having reference to the future life is here described. It is dedicated *Θεοῖς καταχθονίοις*, and on three of the sides are figures of Charon, Hermes, and Pluto.

Catalogue des Vases Cypriotes du Musée d'Athènes. By GEORGES NICOLE. Geneva, 1906. Pp. 42. 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ " × 5 $\frac{5}{8}$ ". Fr. 3.

Catalogue des Vases du Musée de Constantinople. By the same. Constantinople, 1906. Pp. 43. 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ " × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Fr. 3.50.

THESE two small catalogues should be of some use to students, though the prices seem excessive, as there are no illustrations. The Athens collection contains 318 pieces, all acquired in 1899, the other, 857 pieces, mostly from Cesnola's explorations. The majority in each case are of the Bronze Age period. The lines of classification laid down by Mr. Myres in his *Cyprus Museum Catalogue* are closely followed, and the Athens Catalogue has a short introduction explanatory of the system employed.

H. B. W.

MOMMSEN'S *GESAMMELTE
SCHRIFTEN*.

Gesammelte Schriften. Von THEODOR MOMMSEN. Erste Abteilung: *Juristische Schriften*, erster Band. Mit Mommsens Bildnis und zwei Tafeln. 1905. Pp. viii + 479. *Juristische Schriften*, zweiter Band. 1905. Pp. viii + 459. Vierter Band: *Historische Schriften*, erster Band. 1906. Pp. viii + 556.

Theodor Mommsen als Schriftsteller: ein Verzeichnis seiner Schriften. Von KARL ZANGEMEISTER . . . Bearbeitet und fortgesetzt von EMIL JACOBS. 1905. Pp. xi + 189.

Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung. $9\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Price: each vol. of the Ges. Schr. M. 12, or bound M. 14.40; the Verzeichnis, M. 6.

A REVIEW of a great man's minor writings, if it does not deal with less than its subject, must deal with more; it must aim at an appreciation of his work as a whole. That is a task for which I am not old enough, or even young enough; and I must therefore confine myself pretty strictly to the humble part of reporting the chief contents of these three tomes.

We learn from the preface that the task of arranging his scattered publications was taken in hand by Mommsen himself some years before his death, but that owing to other enterprises, and to the failure of his sight, he had sent to the press no more than a small part of the first volume when he died in 1903. His literary executor, Otto Hirschfeld, has entrusted the preparation of the juristic volumes to Bernhard Kübler, whom Mommsen himself had chosen for his collaborator; and Kübler's task, in the first and second volumes, has been to incorporate Mommsen's own additions, to verify the quotations and bring them up to date, to make occasional corrections, and to add references to later researches, by Mommsen or by others, in the various matters of which these papers treat. In the historical volume similar work has been done mostly by Hirschfeld himself. The choice of articles, it seems, is mainly Mommsen's own. In his will he forbade the publication of *Kollegienhefte*, and expressed a desire

‘nicht als Polygraph fortzuleben’—a pathetic wish, unless indeed he wrote it with a twinkle in his eye. Yet Kübler has found himself forced to play the part of Varius and Tucca, and save a few doomed pieces from the flames.

A complete prospectus of the whole series I have not seen; but we are promised a third juristic volume, and others of philological, epigraphic, and numismatic writings. These divisions, in the case of a Mommsen, must necessarily overlap; but no one will quarrel with them if only the *Generalregister* is full enough. It is too much, perhaps, to ask that it should embrace the *History*, the *Staatsrecht*, and the other large works which are to form no part of this reprint.

The first volume (to which Brogi's well-known photograph of Mommsen is prefixed) consists entirely of commentaries or disquisitions on important documents of Roman law: the *leges repetundarum*, *agraria*, *Rubria*, *coloniae Genetivae*; the laws of Salpensa and Malaca, the *sententia Q.M. Minuciorum inter Genuates et Viturios*, the laudations of Turia and Matidia, and some Egyptian wills and other documents. Two of the articles belong to Mommsen's last years: a note on *C.I.L.* xi. 1146, and a longer paper on the fragment of the *lex municipii Turentini* found in 1894. There are several misprints in this volume (*e.g.* on pp. 154, 155, 161), and the *Nachtrag* on pp. 442–4 might with advantage have been incorporated in its article; but otherwise, so far as I can judge, the work of editing has been well done.

The second volume is not so easy to define. Of its thirty-nine articles many attach themselves to particular jurists—Salvius Julianus, S. Pomponius, Gaius, Ulpian, Papinian; several are concerned with the textual problems of juristic literature; the rest defy classification, and it may suffice to mention as examples the portentous article on the chronological sequence of the constitutions of Diocletian and his colleagues, and the three papers on the edict of Diocletian *de pretiis rerum venalium*. Some of the contents touch on economic history and numismatics, but the juristic element prevails. The dates of composition range from 1850 almost to Mommsen's death, and it may be useful

to specify the articles which belong to the twentieth century as least likely to be familiar. These are: a study of the life and career of Salvius Julianus, based on an inscription found in 1899; 'Hofmann versus Blume,' an exposure of some heresies of Franz Hofmann; a few pages pointing out that *lex*, without a determinative expressed or implied, indicates the primitive code of Rome, and that *lex duodecim tabularum* signifies properly not the code as a whole, but an article of the code; comments on an inscription from Schaumburg-Lippe; 'die Heimath des Gregorianus,' in which it is shown that Gregorius was a teacher in the school of law at Beyrout; 'eine verlorene Brevierhandschrift,' on some marginal variants written by the elder Pithou; and finally a note, which was found among Mommsen's papers after his death, on the meaning of *sanctio pragmatica*.

The Historische Schriften, while their results are not less important, address a wider public: to all who are concerned with ancient history, or with history of any sort, these papers will afford a tonic and a delight. In the present volume there is none of the rather awkward Latin in which some of the juristic essays are written, and the variety of the topics gives one a fair chance of judging Mommsen's German style. The verdict of foreigners will probably be *non liquet* (if I may pervert the phrase). He is careful of structure, it is true, and even the weariest period 'winds somewhere safe to sea.' But there is need of effort: the long sentences do not contrive to distribute the emphasis aright, or to carry the reader with them to the end. In general, Mommsen's language is workmanlike, but not artistic; it can impress, but it cannot charm. When will German exchange a few of its inflections for a little flexibility? A return of the dark ages is perhaps the only hope.

Many of the pieces here collected have long been classic: for example, the studies of the constitutional issues between Caesar and the Senate, the site of the defeat of Varus, the last struggle of the Roman republic (A.D. 68), the two battles of Betriacum, and the life of the younger Pliny. Others, perhaps less well known, but

of high importance, are the investigations of the legends of Remus and Tatius, the accounts of Zama, of Caesar's military system—but I am in danger of repeating the table of contents, and naturally enough, for few of these essays can be spared. They are arranged in chronological order, so that one passes on, without any too enormous jumps, from the beginning of things (or earlier) to the death of Attila. In this book, perhaps better than in the author's continuous works, one sees his judgment brought to bear on problems of every kind, and one finds the same sureness and sobriety in ail. The critic who calmly but ruthlessly applies the knife to the *τομὴν πῆμα* of the Tatian legend, can also intervene as a mediator in the question of the 'Thundering Legion, with the words, 'die Wahrheit liegt nicht immer, aber hier in der Mitte' (p. 498), and with a protest against the criticism by which, 'when a Christian testimony is inconvenient by reason of its age, it is curtly qualified as false, and when good heathen evidence will not comply, it is sentenced to penal transportation' (p. 513). This last passage illustrates his ironical humour, more Johnsonian than Gibbonian, and I will add another example of it from the article on the official autobiography of Augustus (p. 255):—'Es ist freilich auch ihm nicht erspart worden Tieferes zu sagen, als woran er selber gedacht hat; aber wenn die 35 Kapitel seiner Denkschrift die 35 Tribus des römischen Volkes bedeuten sollen, so kann er dafür wirklich nichts und hat sogar vorsichtiger Weise keine Zahlen hingesetzt, freilich ohne damit dem Scharfsinn des deutschen Gelehrten entrinnen zu können.'

To the articles already mentioned I would add the following, as new or comparatively inaccessible:—on the date of the appearance of the *Julium sidus*; on the Marcomannic war of Marcus Aurelius; on Stilicho and Alaric; and on Aetius. The editing of this volume seems to me excellent, but here again misprints are rather numerous (e.g., on pp. 37, 119, 252, 336, 454).

Finally, a word of welcome is due to the bibliography of Mommsen's writings, uniform with the present series. Zangemeister's *Verzeichnis*, published in 1887, has served as a basis, but it has been revised, enlarged, and

continued by Jacobs, and the period now covered exceeds sixty years, and the total of entries is 1513. If the reviewer may adapt a phrase from the compiler's preface, the bare number is eloquent enough.

E. HARRISON.

Tiberi Claudii Donati Interpretationes Vergilianae, primum ad vetustissimorum codicum fidem recognitas edidit HENRICUS GEORGI. Vol. II. (*Aeneidos libri VII.-XII.*) Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1906. Pp. 688. M. 12.

TIBERIUS DONATUS, who wrote his comments on Virgil for the benefit of his son towards the end of the fourth century A.D., was at least a change from his predecessors: among the ancient commentators 'none but himself is his own parallel.' He is a refreshing parenthesis over which blows no arid blast of bitter verbal criticism. It was not his to cavil at Virgil's innovations of style, his unusual employment of old words or invention of new ones. Whether the Mantuan imitated Homer much or little, well or badly, seems not to have troubled Donatus. The gall of Corvilius Pictor and other *obtretractores Vergilii* has not found its way into the concoction for which Donatus is responsible. Rather we have a more genial compound to which we may suppose go as simples a little of the traditional lexicography, grammar, and religious antiquities filtered through Probus, Servius, and Macrobius. But only a little of these ingredients. The idea of Donatus' work is original, and would have made his fortune—in the way of posthumous fame—if only it had been carried out with a moderate show of genius. But this is anticipating. The task he sets himself is to advance from line to line of the *Aeneid* and draw out the full connotation of his author's words by means of a full prose paraphrase.

A condensed style like that of Virgil certainly offered a great chance to the first commentator who tried this method. To explain the meaning of the poet by exhibiting the rhetorical connection of clauses, the connection of ideas, consistencies of character, and to show that the arrangement and development of the narrative is as it should be—all this might have meant an immortal work. A few specimens may be quoted of Donatus' manner of handling this method. At the beginning of Book VII it was perhaps worth suggesting that Aeneas was all the more ready to pay funeral honours to Caieta because by crossing the infernal river he had seen how piteous was the case of the unburied dead. Donatus is at pains to explain *Tu quoque*, the opening words, by showing that the incident is connected with the passage describing the funeral rites of Misenus in Book VI. Conington hits this off in a note of four words: Donatus repeats himself four times and

consumes twenty lines. Such long-winded exegesis is characteristic. Such a verbal point as the juxtaposition of *aeternam moriens* is seldom mentioned. *Ossaque nomen . . . signal*. The comment here is to this effect: it is wonderful that whereas the names of the living only with great difficulty are noised abroad, her bones make light of centuries. This surely is a shade too subtle: one notices that Conington is eloquently silent on this point. Here and there Conington adopts something from Donatus, sometimes referring to him by name, but more often tacitly; but the fine metal he has extracted from this mass of over 1200 pages on the *Aeneid* is measured by very small quantities. One cannot help wishing that points such as those offered by in noctem (8), proxima (10), resonat (12), received some comment; but it would not be fair to impute this to Donatus as a neglect, because his avowed purpose is to track sequences of thought; and, moreover, many verbal points which may seem significant to us we may well suppose would have had no interest for the young son whose native tongue was Latin. The pity is that so many of the remarks on subject matter are pedantic and utterly unilluminating. In fact it must be admitted that there is seldom an imaginative flash to brighten up these sombre though conscientious pages. Donatus dearly loves to preach. Having made his remark, he will repeat it in interrogative or exclamatory form in the style of an unskilful sermon preached to the very young. In short we find Donatus honest, unctuous, and dull. But he himself never loses heart: says he quite gaily '*Interea verba ipsa in propositione constituta repetamus, ut intendamus omnia cum suis ponderibus posita.*'

We think few English boys of to-day would relish Donatus, and probably few professors. Henry Nettleship found him 'dull and unprofitable.' Sed cui bono? Most of the notes of any value will be found incorporated in Conington: most of the readings of note are given by Nettleship. First comes the importance of a mass of sound fourth-century Latinity, of which the editor of this volume supplies a full index. Second, the professional scholar might do worse than go back to original sources for Virgilian study, in the process of reading Donatus stretching his imagination and occasionally culling the stray remark that others have missed.

If space allowed there are several interesting points relating to Donatus' text we should wish to discuss. How far is a commentary first published so late likely to have survived as its author wrote it? Did Donatus' work suffer in the same way as that of Probus? Ever since its publication in the sixteenth century the multipliers of *variae lectiones* have not been idle, to judge from the apparatus criticus to this edition. But in the midst of our interest not so much in Donatus, as in things about Donatus, we find already in the opinion of our editor *immensum confestim aequor*.

S. E. WINBOLT.

NEWS AND COMMENTS

The fourth and concluding number of the first volume of the *Classical Quarterly* contains *inter alia* papers on Aberdeen Papyri by Mr. Winstedt, on some eccentricities in scansion in the Halieutica ascribed to Ovid by Mr. A. E. Housman, on the readings and kinship of the Madrid MS of Manilius by the same, on the 'idle actor' in Aeschylus by Mr. J. T. Allen, on the question whether the Heraclidae of Euripides is complete as we have it by Miss G. H. Macurdy, a short but important note on a passage of Cicero's letters to Atticus by Mr. C. L. Smith, casting doubt on a visit of the writer to Antium, which has been generally assumed, a somewhat longer one by Mr. E. Harrison, upon the right place in British history of some events recorded by Tacitus, further emendations of treatises of Seneca by Mr. A. J. Kronenberg, a few etymologies by Mr. E. W. Fay, and some corrections of the results in Mr. H. D. Naylor's 'Doubtful Syllables in Iambic Senarii,' by Mr. H. W. Greene with an addendum by the author. There are six reviews including a very full one of Mr. Cornford's Thucydides *Mythistoricus* by the editor. Other notices are Burnet's Plato (V) by Mr. R. G. Bury, Kenyon and Bell's British Museum Papyri and Jouguet's Lille Papyri by Mr. A. S. Hunt, Reitzenstein's recently published supplement to Photios' lexicon by Mr. T. C. Snow, and Schönfeld's Teutonic Proper Names in Greek and Latin by Mr. H. M. Chadwick. A Complete index to Vol. I is appended.

Attention should be called to an important paper issued by the Board of Education, the

Teaching of Classics in Prussian Secondary Schools, by J. L. Paton, Master of Manchester Grammar School (Vol. 20 of Special Reports). This gives by far the best account of the subject that we have seen, and is full of instruction for English schools.

A paper of instructions has also been issued by the Board on the *Teaching of Latin in Secondary Schools*. In this is a brief justification of Latin as a school subject in non-classical schools, and hints on method. A grounding in English is assumed as the basis, and it is laid down that two new languages should never be begun together; the importance of oral work is also insisted on.

We are glad to see that Dr. Olcott's valuable *Thesaurus of Latin Inscriptions* (see *C.R.* 1906, p. 178) is continuing its steady progress. Three parts bringing the work down to Aliger have been already published in the present year.

A CORRESPONDENT suggests that it might be useful to open a column in the *Review* for Questions and Answers, and we accordingly do so with a couple which he has sent us. Contributors are requested to send their names and addresses to the editor, but these need not be published.

The Annual Meeting of the Classical Association took place on Oct. 18 and 19 at Cambridge. The Report of the Curricula-Committee was adopted: we shall have occasion to speak of this Report later. It is understood that there is other work for this Committee to do. A Classical Association is being formed for Ireland specially.

CORRESPONDENCE

To Editor of THE CLASSICAL REVIEW.

Opinions will always differ as to what is vivacity and what is 'slangy colloquial mannerisms.' Your reviewer of my little book on *Life in Ancient Athens* singles out one specimen of the latter. The words

'gave a tremendous thump on the door with his stick' are apparently slangy and colloquial. It is an unfortunate thing that the late Prof. Jowett is not here to defend himself. The words happen to be his.

It is unfortunate also that a reviewer who objects

to my 'transliteration' should write 'Lycæum' for 'Lyceum,' and should furthermore interpolate his own spelling (a very curious one to occur to a 'specialist') into a passage quoted from me.

T. G. TUCKER.

In the *Classical Review* xxi. (1907) 155, writing about Miss Hamilton's book on Incubation, you make the following statement:

The second part, Incubation in Christian Churches, during the Middle Ages, breaks almost new ground. She has searched the *Acta Sanctorum* and records of saintly miracles, and has collected a considerable amount of illustration of the ancient practice.

I think a comparison of this chapter with Deubner, *de incubatione* cap. iv, will shew that the whole collection of illustration does not break new ground, but follows a given route. The system of quotation followed by Miss Hamilton does not make this clear. Nor would the reader of Miss Hamilton's Introduction pp. 4 ff. suspect that the identical disposition and illustrations (the latter more numerous) are to be found in Deubner's *de incubatione*, cap. i. pp. 10-13.

Pray do not think the motive of these remarks to be purely personal. Prof. Deubner's book appeared seven years ago, and has had time to take its proper place in Germany. Also Miss Hamilton's book addresses itself to a different audience.

O. C. DEUBNER,
née LINDLEY.

MALARIA IN ANCIENT GREECE AND ITALY.

The little book which has just appeared on the above subject is necessarily limited in scope, as its true object is to show how malaria affects character, and sometimes even influences the destiny of nations. But there are two other points which are, I think, of some importance, and worthy of attention at the hands of any who are interested in this question.

A modern physician, in diagnosing a case of malaria, relies upon his thermometer, his microscope, and the action of quinine. The ancient doctor used his eyes and his fingers; and accordingly, by continual practice, the faculties of sight and touch became so sensitive that symptoms were noticed which seem to have escaped modern observers. I think that a study of these symptoms might throw light upon some problems of tropical and sub-tropical disease, for a physician like Galen had the recorded experience of centuries to help him in forming his conclusions.

A large portion, perhaps some hundreds of pages, of the ancient medical writers describe fevers having symptoms suggestive, now of typhoid, now of malaria. Some of these may be Malta fever, many are without doubt remittent malaria, but most appear to be cases of typhoid in patients previously infected with the malaria parasite. Instances of this are by no means

uncommon, and there results a curious combination of the two diseases, the typhoid assuming a malarial form.

I should like to state in conclusion that further study of the Hippocratic treatises, which of course imply much experience previous to Hippocrates, convinces me that the Greeks of the East were familiar with malaria long before it became endemic in Attica. Will anyone try to discover whether malaria influenced the history of the Assyrians and Persians?

W. H. S. JONES.

Apropos of your timely editorial in the *Classical Review* for August, p. 138, on careless publishers of old emendations, be it noted that editors are as likely to offend in this respect as their contributors. For example, in *Mnemosyne*, vol. xxxiv. (1906) p. 306, Van Leeuwen proposed to read 'in imbrēm' for 'in hominem' in Terence's *Eunuchus*, l. 588, although that conjecture had already been proposed by M. Fabia and introduced into the text in his edition of the *Eunuchus*, Paris, 1895.

ROY C. FLICKINGER.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

1. What is the meaning of the passage in Pliny, *N.H.* 37. 5 (64) 'Nero princeps gladiatorum pugnas spectabat in zmaragdo.' Did Nero use the emerald as a mirror or as a magnifying glass?

2. Is there any principle by which one may be guided as to the force of the preposition in compound verbs in the *Κοινή*? It is recognised, I believe, that the writers of that period, in their consciousness of the weakening of language that is always going on, resorted to the use of compound for simple verbs with the idea of adding strength to their expression. But is there any safe rule to guide one as to when the preposition has its force? Or is it only a question of context and common sense? For example: in St. Mark xiv. 45 the Revised Version in the margin gives 'kissed him much' for *κατεφίλησε*. But is this in any way justified? Is not the compound verb here simply an equivalent of the simple? The question may often be one of considerable importance in New Testament exegesis.

Παρεπίδημος.

ARCHAEOLOGY

MONTHLY RECORD.

Delos.—The excavations of the French School in 1906 were directed to the interior and the districts north and south of the *Temenos* of Apollo. Inside the *Temenos* the Great Portico was completely cleared, and although the pavement is gone, enough of the foundations remains to give a certain knowledge of the plan. The front was columned, with a projecting wing at each end, and the interior was divided into two naves by columns of which only the foundations exist; but of the exterior colonnade nearly all the members are represented, together with the pediments of the wings, and only the height is unknown. The Hellenistic style is more precisely dated by the dedicatory inscription on the architrave, which is restored: [βασιλεὺς—βασιλέως Δημ]ητρίου Μακεδῶν Ἀπόλλωνι. The name must be that of Antigonos Gonatas, Doson, or Philip V, and for many reasons Gonatas is chosen. The building of this 'Portico of Antigonos' is therefore assigned to the period of his domination in the Aegean about 250 B.C.

In the course of work to the north of the Portico, two Mycenaean graves were unexpectedly discovered, containing several skeletons and five typical vases of good period. They seem to be really one tomb, the smaller being the *dromos* of the larger. As the pointed top was visible in classical times, it is remarkable that the remains escaped the Athenian purification of 426 B.C. Some peculiar sanctity must have protected them, and it is suggested that the place was a tomb of the Hyperborean Maidens.

Trial pits sunk at various points in the *Temenos* revealed abundance of early remains, Mycenaean, Geometric and later.

Outside, in the district to the north, the Doric Temple which was discovered in 1885 was finally excavated. A colossal marble head of Scopaeic style, apparently of a young god, goes with the drapery found by Homolle and must belong to the cult-statue. As Apollo would hardly have another temple outside his *Temenos* and as the character of the head does not suit Dionysos, it is perhaps a copy of the beardless Asclepios of Scopas (*Pausan.* viii. 28. 1): in which case the temple is identified as the Asclepieion, in confirmation of Homolle's original opinion.

In the same district a granite building was uncovered, with remains apparently of workshops on the ground floor, and above them of a colonnaded apartment, once decorated with painted stucco and mosaic—perhaps a commercial Hall.

On the western bank of the Sacred Lake an open Terrace, on which stand five colossal lions, was cleared. The lions are of archaic style, as early as the seventh century B.C., and their material is said to be Naxian marble. They stood all on the same line, overlooking the Lake, and were originally eight in number; one of them is recognised in the guard of the Arsenal gate at Venice, whither it was probably carried by Morosini.

In the district lying south of the *Temenos*, a circular walled structure of white marble, which from remains was a place of sacrifice, is shown by an inscription—Τρισπάτωρ Πυρρακιδῶν Ἀετῶν—to have been the shrine of an ancestor of an Athenian family. The date is about 400 B.C.

Other discoveries in the same neighbourhood are a large and unique *insula* and other houses, from which good evidence of the topography of the town in Hellenic, Hellenistic, and Roman times may be derived. In a peristyle house of the *insula* were found a large pedestal in a sort of niche and the two statues which belonged to it. On the pedestal is an inscription giving the names of the figures, Cleopatra and her husband Dioscurides, and the date, the archonship of Timarchos (=about 140 B.C.). Consequently the greater part of the buildings of this district can be dated to the middle of the second century, which accords well with the numerous finds of 'Late Style' Athenian coins. Geological investigations have added much to the knowledge of the topography of Delos, and especially of the Harbour, in classical times.

The finds of sculpture include part of an Egyptian statuette of the third or second century B.C.; a fragment of an archaic 'Apollo' figure; the statue of a Muse, head and arms wanting, which resembles in the rendering of diaphanous drapery the Athenian Cleopatra already mentioned; a new group of Artemis hunting a doe, of fine design but poor execution; and the head and other fragments of a male figure, which belong to a torso previously discovered, and give a fairly complete statue of Apollo in an attitude of victory, with his foot set on a pile of shields.

There were other finds of terracottas, jewellery and coins of Athens. Inscriptions were less plentiful, the chief being an apparently complete list of Delian priests under the second Athenian supremacy, a dedication with the name of the Praetor Volusius Saturninus, and a signature of the sculptor Agasias of Ephesos.¹

Miletus.—A bilingual inscription, in Greek and Nabatean, which was dug up by the Germans in 1905, has been read by Clermont-Ganneau and identified as a dedication of Syllaos in honour of King Obodas. In view of the connection of this Syllaos with Herod and the Romans and of his subsequent conduct towards Obodas, the document is of considerable interest and importance.¹

Several buildings have been cleared, as well as a new room in the Baths, where the very elaborate system of heating has been explored.²

Didyma.—In the clearance of the west end of the Temple Byzantine remains were found which throw much light on the history of its destruction.²

¹ *Comptes Rendus*, 1907, juin.

² *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1907, 2.

Rhodes.—The Danish excavations at Lindos have brought to light an early Temple, perhaps of Dionysos, with a great quantity of Geometric debris. Near Vruliá, in the south of the island, an archaic town was discovered.¹

Crete.—At Kumasa Xanthudides has found a primitive shrine in a settlement of Early Minoan date: it has several rooms, and the base of a wooden column, which stood in the middle of the building, is still in place, as are also the conical clay idol and an altar-dish of steatite.¹

Athens.—The German excavations at Dipylon have revealed the base of the wall of Themistocles underneath the limestone structure which has hitherto been assigned to him and which must now be put at a later date. The testimony of Thucydides of the manner of its building is confirmed by finds of archaic sculpture: the best are the *stele* of a boy, with a running Gorgon below, fragments of a sphinx, and a crouching lion. Towards the end of the previous year, the foundations of the Themistocles gate and their later modifications were distinguished and similar investigations were made at the Peiraieus gate.¹

Thessaly.—Near Larissa a chamber-grave of the end of the fourth century B.C. was discovered, of a type previously known in Thrace, Macedonia, and Euboea. It had been plundered, but the place of the metal urn was still visible, and fragments of pottery with cosmetic paints adhering mark the tomb as that of a woman.¹

At Pharsalos a place which was probably the ancient *agora* is being excavated. A paved courtyard, remains of an aqueduct, shops and perhaps a portico are already cleared.¹

Rome.—Two finds of sculpture of great importance occurred in the course of last year. On April 24 a new copy of the *Discobolos* of Myron was discovered in the garden of a *villa* in the Laurentum district. The head, right hand, and lower legs are missing, but the broken surfaces are such as to admit of a trust-

worthy restoration of the lost parts, with the result that the statue appears as the best copy of the original which we possess. It is to be hoped that the other fragments may yet be brought to light.²

The second discovery was of a Niobid, a young girl struck in the back by an arrow, which she clutches with both hands. She has sunk on to her left knee, and her drapery has slipped down and covers only the right leg. The design and work of the figure mark it as a pediment sculpture, and two (or three) statues in the Ny-Carlsberg Glyptothek at Copenhagen (Arndt, Pl. 33, 38, and 51), which were long ago recognised by the late Professor Furtwängler as having belonged to a Niobe group and to a pediment, are closely related to it. Furtwängler even suggested that they are original fifth century figures from the 'Theseion' at Athens. At least one of the Copenhagen figures—the reclining youth—was found on the same site as this, the Gardens of Sallust; and the other, a daughter of Niobe, perhaps under the next house. They were evidently buried on the eve of a catastrophe, and to this circumstance is due the remarkably fine preservation of the new statue.³

The researches of Boni have successfully traced the topography of the street and buildings on the site where the Column of Trajan now stands, but the difficulties in the interpretation of the inscription on the Column are not yet removed. The situation of the Lacus Furrinae, where Gaius Gracchus died, has also been determined, from finds on the Janiculum. Excavations at the fifth milestone of the Appian Way have shewn that the bend of the road at this point is due to earlier buildings, in which the traditional graves of the Horatii and Curiatii are recognised.¹

E. J. FORSDYKE.

The British Museum.

¹ *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1907, 2.

² *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1906, 11.

³ *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1906, 12.

REPORT.

THE excavation of the Roman Villa at The Stroud, near Petersfield, Hants, has been steadily progressing since June. The house is a large one of the 'Court-yard' type. Its north and west wings have been uncovered as far as standing corn, the former showing a block of eleven rooms flanked by a corridor, the latter a group of baths. Neither of these blocks shows any signs of giving out, and their excavation will be continued next year. The number and elaborate nature of the bath-chambers show that this house was an important one. The excavation is providing many points of architectural interest: walls

and doorways have been added, hypocausts put out of use and their material used in the same room for reconstruction, and many other signs point to more than one period of occupation. The coins are all of the Constantine period. The finds are numerous and good, but—with the exception of a fine vase, 9 in. high, of New Forest ware—they are not remarkable. Most of the pavements are tessellated, but the North corridor alone has a patterned mosaic, which is much damaged. The excavation is badly in need of funds.

A. M. WILLIAMS.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Publishers and Authors forwarding Books for review are asked to send at the same time a note of the price.

The size of Books is given in inches: 4 inches = 10 centimetres (roughly). They are unbound unless the binding is specified.

**.* Excerpts and Extracts from Periodicals and Collections are not included in these Lists unless stated to be separately published.*

- Abbott* (Edwin A.) Notes on New Testament Criticism. (*Diatessarica*, Part VII.) 9" x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. xxx + 314. London, Adam and Charles Black. 1907. Cloth, 7s. 6d. net.
- Abele* (Theodor Anton) Der Senat unter Augustus. (*Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums*, von Dr. E. Drerup, Dr. H. Grimme und Dr. J. P. Kirsch. Band I. Heft 2.) 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 78. Paderborn, Ferdinand Schöningh. 1907. M. 2.40.
- Albert* (Dr. Phil. Georg) Die platonische Zahl als Präzessionszahl (3600. 2592) und ihre Konstruktion. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. 32, mit einer Figurentafel. Leipzig und Wien, Franz Deuticke. 1907. M. 1.
- Allen* (H. F.) The Infinitive in Polybius compared with the Infinitive in Biblical Greek. (*University of Chicago. Historical and Linguistic Studies*, Series II. Vol. I. No. 4.) Chicago, University Press. 10" x 7". Pp. 60. 50c. net.
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ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

THE PRESENT STATE OF CLASSICAL STUDIES IN FRANCE.

A PARIS Professor at the *Hautes Études*, whom I consulted, answered me textually as follows: 'La question, sur laquelle vous m'interrogez, est de très vaste étendue, et elle devrait être traitée historiquement, comme histoire de toute décadence. . . . On faisait (dans ma jeunesse) des vers latins, et pour moi c'était un plaisir; on faisait aussi un peu de grec, quoique pas autant qu'en Angleterre. Aujourd'hui, à ce que j'ai appris, on ne fait plus de vers latins, à peine même de compositions latines, et l'on ne pousse plus guère le grec au delà l'alphabet.' We shall see that this is slightly exaggerated, and may begin with Greek in France since May 31, 1902. This is the date of the new programme, which regulates Secondary Education. Greek is no longer obligatory, as it was up to 1902. And the same is the case with Latin, which, however, will, according to actual provisions, be continued by some half of the lycée and college pupils. French is a Latin language, and so Latin is useful for its philology, historical institutions, manners, and civilisation, to say nothing of the *Formale Bildung* thence resulting. And, if Latin has taken all—epic, theatre, lyric, history, eloquence, philosophy

—from Greece, it is to Greek that we must go. The French still do so, but less and less year by year. Following Prof. U. von Wilamowitz,—whose *Der griechische Unterricht auf dem Gymnasium* appeared in 1900, and who wishes to make pupils understand Greek antiquity in its entirety,—at a most respectful distance, French teachers see that von Wilamowitz has saved Greek in Germany, but find his scope too wide for French teachers and pupils alike. They fear to be caught between the deep sea of Encyclopaedic, and the devil of specialised, Greek. Of these specialised Greek studies the best informed Frenchmen advise the retention of Greek history dealing with the development of ideas, the historical reading and explanation of literary masterpieces, considered as the product of their time and of Hellenic civilisation, to the building up of the pupil aesthetically and morally. Abandon the Greek particle for a large mental sweep of those Greek works that sensibly influenced later writing to the fullest satisfaction to-day of our modern mind; and taste! *Mental Gymnastic* is already maintained, on this theory, by the retention of *Latin* for the Latin race of France. Greek, when all is

said, is the source of all modern literature and civilisation. Greek, then, must be studied in Secondary Education; if not aesthetically, yet to furnish forth youth for life, by initiating young people in a method aiming throughout at truth,—truth in the domain of letters coming from historic and critical study of action. A Frenchman cannot, constitutionally, study Antiquity integrally in Old Hellas, as the German programme (of 1900) requires of the Germans. But practice in the richest and, perhaps, most artistic of tongues,—mental commerce with the noblest and highest of principles and sentiments, these a Frenchman can have in what he retains in the Greek of his Secondary Education. True, Grammar is hated by Germans and French alike, and Greek Grammar is no exception. For the anti-Greeks it is ‘a torture’; for the pro-Greeks, a bugbear to beginners. An anti-Greek wanted to add a third aorist and third perfect to the Greek verb, to make it a better mental exercise for pupils! This irony is common among the ultra-‘Moderns,’ wolves to whom something must be abandoned perhaps of the Greek curriculum. The dialectical varieties? the vagaries of the *κοινή*? without the former of which even Homer, Herodotus, and Theocritus, for instance, are closed books. The new French programme has settled this point.

It orders, along with reading the texts, *version* and *thème*, so that the double translation into and out of Greek (and Latin) is parallel and constant. As in England, the Greek required is the Attic of the fifth and fourth centuries, without the pedantic purism of following the Attic of the inscriptions. By ‘Attic’ is meant in the new programme the Greek of the best authors in the centuries named, who generally are Athenians. This for the fourth class boys of lycées and colleges, who read Aesop, Lucian’s *Dialogues*, Xenophon’s *Cyropaedia* and *Anabasis*. But why does the third class read Herodotus? His grammar is hardly explained in this form, which cannot enter into his style or into the spirit of his morphology: the third is still too weak linguistically. And what are three hours a week? Scarcely enough to devote to Xenophon, who is sufficiently Attic, gramma-

tically hard and a pattern of military courage. We are now in the second cycle of the French School according to the new programme. Henceforward five hours a week are given to Greek. Here the counsel of perfection has been given, but not followed, to give three hours a week to prose and the Tragedians, in the second and first (along with *version* and *thème*), and the remaining two hours to Herodotus and Homer, in the second; to Homer and the Lyrics, in the first. Archaeology should here have a word, even the repellent dialectical form. In the first Syntax should, according to this counsel of perfection, be a special feature in class. It is, at least, scientific to be able to distinguish Plato from Demosthenes, Thucydides from the author of the *Hellenics*. In the first class, too, the French master is supposed to allow himself most discreetly to touch *mollissimo brachio* on that abominable Grammar which Teuton and Gaul alike execrate. He may even go so far as to hint the difference between *εἰ πλούσιος ἔην* and *εἰ πλούσιος ἦν*. But this must be done tentatively, as by one who does good by stealth. Accents are to be reduced to a minimum. This is the rule even in the highest classes. At the same time the new programme allows that the accent is the soul of the word, and that, when essential, it may be taught: e.g. *τίς* is not *τις*. In a word, then, the new programme due to M. Georges Leygues, the then minister, has done something for Greek. Before this programme the *thème* and *version*, for instance, were always the same, and the corrections were always the same. The teacher said: ‘C’est ça’ or ‘ce n’est pas ça,’ but never ventured on giving reasons. The result was, all these exercises of and into Greek (and Latin) did not constitute one real exercise. Again, then and now, in the two dead languages, both in the Universities and at the Schools, no complete author is taken in hand, not even, generally, the complete fairly long work of one author. Also, the Classical Latin and Greek are still taken along with Silver Latin writers and late Greek authors, promiscuously: times and seasons are ill kept. The Decadence is very real in Classical studies still—almost painfully appa-

rent. For fifty years French school curricula had been (perhaps, still are) top-heavy. The nineteenth century opened with Classics, French, Mathematics and Philosophy, Classics being the heritage of the Renaissance specially. History, Science and Modern Languages (badly taught) came in later. Palliatives were sought for the surfeit of study: 'bifurcation, enseignement spécial, enseignement moderne premier modèle and e. m. second modèle.' The new programme has cycles: the first with Latin, and optional Greek; or without Latin, but with Modern Languages, Science abounding where Latin is not taken. The second cycle has: Greek-Latin, Latin-Science, Latin-Modern Languages, Science-Modern Languages. It has taken fifty years to arrive at this, and now the present Minister of Education, M. Briand, has condemned the *baccalauréat*, or examination wherein these cycles were tested in their working. The place of this examination it is proposed to supply by a school diploma, dependent in reality (not in theory) on the favour with his masters, especially form-master, which the pupil may enjoy at the moment of quitting school. There is no University matriculation in France. The University Greek is a continuation and enlarging of School Greek, but with a view to criticism and culture, as against translation of texts, elementary grammar, and circumscribed routine. The older professors, however, before being compulsorily retired at seventy (they may leave at sixty, but often refuse to do so) are absolutely *routiniers*. Yet most of the professors are *agrégés*, i.e. possessed of 'une culture d'esprit ancienne et profonde, qui ait peu à peu aiguisé et mûri le jugement' (M. Maurice Croiset). The priests are not allowed to be *agrégés*, and they are the best teachers of Greek and Latin in France, judging by their pupils—quality and quantity. The Greek they teach is chiefly such as is done up to *licence* at the Universities, or about the level of our Shell or (Lower) Vth. The Latin is not sufficiently pure, of course, but ready and current, even

for conversation, but with ignorance of quantities, as Latin and Greek verse have not been done for many years past in France.

The number of pupils in France that study Greek (and) Latin, either or both, was, in 1902, reckoned at 80,000, or five times more than in England, on the estimate of M. Conyba,—double or more than double the Austrian and Italian averages (*Classiques et Modernes* p. 127). M. Brunetière, lately deceased, thought Latin was still spoken on the Continent, in Hungary, Croatia, and Transylvania. But, *in fact*, Latin conversation was last heard in 1848 in these countries, and then only from Croat lips. By an anomaly, Latin countries have given up Latin, while others that are Teutonic retain it as a written language. In France, H. Estienne and du Bellay defeated its influence; Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio, in Italy. The conservative Anglo-Saxon and German keep up Latin. In Germany and England the public orator speaks Latin, the German Doctor's degree thesis is often in Latin (which is optional),—in five years 474 out of 1871, or twenty-five p.c. in a score of German Universities. In Germany, too, theology is Latin first and Protestant or Catholic second, though, of course, Latin owes so much to the Vatican for its propagation. German students are very Latinophile. Our Universities, as well as the Scotch and Irish, keep up Latin: so do the Hungarian. Latin reviews appear in the *Hermes*, *Jahrbücher für Klassische Philologie*, *Rivista di filologia classica*, *Journal für die reine . . . Mathematik*, *Arithmetices principia* of Turin; exclusively Latin are: *Vox Urbis* (Rome), *Praeco Latinus* (Pa. U.S.A.), *Phoenix Nuntius* (Oxford), *Hermes Romanus* (Paris, extinct), *Apis Romana* (Montlieu, Charente Inférieure). Science affects Latin also. M. André, of Lyon University, who gives the above and many other facts in the *revue de l'enseignement (internationale)*, recommends Latin as a universal language *ad interim*.

H. H. JOHNSON.

Rennes University.

ELPIS AND EROS.

Sophocles, *Antigone* 599 and 795.

νῦν γὰρ ἐσχάτας ὑπὲρ
600 ῥίζας <ὃ> τέτατο φάος ἐν Οἰδίπῳ δόμοις,
κατ' αὖ νῦν φοινία θεῶν τῶν νερτέρων
ἀμᾶ κόνις,
λόγον τ' ἄνοια καὶ φρενῶν ἐρινύς.

IN the first strophe of this chorus, Atê, the curse that moves down the lineage of Labdacus, is compared to a surge, which, blown by the ocean blasts of storm from the north, overruns the dark depth under the sea (ἐρεβος ὑφαλον) and rolls up from the abyss black ooze upon the moaning shores where it breaks. The opening lines of the antistrophe maintain the suggestion of storm and wreck; woe falling upon woe of the dead, as wave follows upon wave. Some god wrecks them, and there is no release.

Then follow the words above quoted, about which so much difficulty has been felt. How can the φοινία κόνις τῶν νερτέρων θεῶν, the handful of dust due to the nether gods and flung by Antigone upon the blood-stained corpse, be said to 'mow down' the light of hope which has dawned above the last root of the house of Oedipus? How can it be called λόγον τ' ἄνοια καὶ φρενῶν ἐρινύς, a blindness of speech and avenging madness?

The simple truth is that it cannot. So it is suggested that we should read κοπίς and try to forget that it means a 'cleaver' or 'chopper.' But what Greek ever spoke of the gods of the underworld using a chopper to mow down a light? The metaphor is monstrous, and—what is nearly as bad—inharmonious. It is utterly out of keeping with the storm metaphor of the strophe.

These absurdities all arise from the assumption that φοινία κόνις means the dust thrown by Antigone upon the bloody corpse of Polyneices. But κόνις has another meaning, which not only suits the immediate context here, but gives a fresh significance to a critical incident earlier in the play. Κόνις may mean a *dust-storm* (as in Aeschylus *Suppl.* 186 it is used of a cloud of dust). 'Now when above the last root of the house

of Oedipus a light was spread abroad, down in its turn is it swept and smothered by dust of a murderous storm from the nether gods, blindness of speech and avenging madness.'

Thus the metaphor of storm is retained in a new form no longer merely metaphorical, but symbolic, which yet corresponds point for point with the previous image. In the strophe the curse is compared (1) to a wave (2) passing over the dark abyss *under the sea*, (3) from which it rolls up black, smothering ooze, (4) to cast it on the shore where it breaks. Here, in the antistrophe, it is compared (1) to the dust-storm (2) sweeping from the dark abode of the gods *under the earth*, (3) from which it carries the blinding, deadly madness of avenging Atê, which eclipses the reason of the accursed, and so (4) by causing the fatal act, sweeps down and smothers the last light of hope. The word καταμᾶ is singularly expressive; for its two meanings—'mowing down' and 'sweeping (dust, etc.) over' (χερσὶν ἀμήσας κόνιν, over a corpse, *Anth. P.* vii. 241)—fit, respectively, the metaphors 'root' and 'light,' though the second meaning is, of course, only suggested. What is common to both seems to be the sweeping movement of the arm.

By the use of this second image Sophocles gains an artistic advantage. The dust-storm which screens Antigone at her second visit to the body of Polyneices (415 ff.) appears—at least to the modern reader—as an artificial device, 'a dramatic necessity, to account for Antigone reaching the corpse unobserved' (Jebb ad loc.). But to the poet and to an audience who shared his associations it is a symbol of the smothering blindness which overtakes her at the very moment of her fatal act. It is a θεία νόσος (421) the phrase used of the madness of Ajax (*Aj.* 186). It is the appropriate vehicle of the Erinyes who embodies the curse. As supernal deities are clothed in cloud, the underworld powers are shrouded in the dust of earth.

The Athenian Dikaïos, before Salamis,

saw a huge dust-storm moving from Eleusis, and heard from inside it the Iacchos hymn. He inferred that disaster was coming upon Xerxes' host: *θεῖον τὸ φθεγγόμενον ἀπ' Ἑλευσίνος ἰὸν ἐς τιμωρίην Ἀθηναίοισι*. If the dust-storm sweeps down (*κατασκήψη*, cf. *Antig.* 418, *σκηπτὸν οὐράνιον ἄχος*) towards the Peloponnese, the land army is threatened; if towards Salamis, the fleet will perish. The dust and the voices rose aloft in a cloud and were borne towards Salamis. *Herod.* viii. 65.

The chorus goes on to speak of the delusion (*Apatê*) of Atê which steals over the victim in the forms of far-roving Elpis and of Eros whose dreams are winged (*ἀπάτα κουφονόων ἐρώτων*).¹ The relevance of this last phrase is pointed by the words in which the chorus-leader immediately afterwards announces the entrance of Haemon:

δρ' ἀχνύμενος
τῆς μελλογάμου
τάλιδος ἥκει μόρον Ἀντιγόνης
630 ἀπάτας λεχέων ὑπεραλγῶν;

Jebb's version, 'bitter for the baffled hope of his marriage,' gives the superficial meaning only. Haemon is under the delusive spell of Eros which draws him to his death as surely as Antigone's 'passion for the impossible' (*ἀμηχάνων ἐρᾶς*, 90) is drawing her to the bridal bed of Hades.

If we bear this significance in mind, it may throw some light on another famous difficulty, in the Eros chorus:

791 σὺ καὶ δικαίων ἀδίκους φρένας παρυσπᾶς
ἐπὶ λώβᾳ·
σὺ καὶ τόδε νεῖκος ἀνδρῶν ξύναιμον ἔχεις
ταράξας·
νικᾷ δ' ἐναργῆς βλεφάρων ἱμερος εὐλέκτρον
νύμφας, τῶν μεγάλων πάρεδρος ἐν ἀρχαῖς
θεσμῶν· ἄμαχος γὰρ ἐμπαίζει θεὸς Ἀφροδίτα.

It is easy to render *τῶν μεγάλων ἐν ἀρχαῖς θεσμῶν*: 'it is a power enthroned in sway beside the eternal laws'; and to *assume* that the phrase, whether it needs verbal

correction or not, must convey the sense which comes so naturally to a modern mind: love is at least as strong as, if not stronger than, the unwritten moral laws, and triumphs over them. But is this assumed meaning compatible with the context?

Eros, the unconquerable, 'draws aside for their ruin the unlawful thoughts of the righteous' (*ἀδίκους*, by the way, is not 'proleptic'; acts such as Antigone's are at one and the same time both against human law and divinely righteous). This first line refers chiefly to Antigone, the second to Haemon: both are drawn to their death by Eros. But to Haemon Eros-Apatê comes as a fascinating influence (*ἱμερος*) from the eyes of the bride who is no longer his, but Death's.² So in a moment we shall see her (804): *τὸν παγκοίτην ὄθ' ὀρῶ θάλαμον | τήνδ' Ἀντιγόνην ἀνύτουσαν*. We are to imagine Antigone as fading in the darkness, till she is hardly distinguishable from the dim, pale shape of Korê, of Persephone, who is also *Thesmo-phoros*:

'In the night where thine eyes are as moons are in heaven, the night where thou art, Where the silence is more than all tunes, where sleep overflows from the heart.'

The resemblance lends a cruel point to Creon's words at 885

καὶ κατηρεφεῖ
τύμβῳ περιπτύξαντες, ὡς εἴρηκ' ἐγώ,
ἄφετε μόνην ἔρημον, εἴτε χρῆ θανεῖν
εἴτ' ἐν τοιαύτῃ ζῶσα τυμβεύειν στέγγῃ·
ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἀγνοῖ τοῦτ' ἐν τήνδ' ἐν κόρῃ ν·
μετοικίας δ' οὖν τῆς ἄνω στερέησεται.
AN. ὦ τύμβος, ὦ νυμφεῖον . . .

'For we are pure as touching this Maiden, this Korê; but this is certain—she shall lose her sojourn in the light'—as Persephone lost her yearly *sojourn* in the upper world, yet *lived* in the lower, as the bride of Death. Compare 1204, *πρὸς λιθόστρωτον κόρης νυμφεῖον Ἀϊδου*.

Antigone, then, becomes (as it were) Persephone; and as the darkness grows

¹ A discussion of these conceptions will be found in my *Thucydides Mythistoricus*, p. 184 and ch. xiii. See also Dr. Headlam (in *Cambridge Praelections*, 1906), from whom I first learnt to study these mythical associations.

² Cf. in the previous scene, 760:

Kp. ἄγετε τὸ μῖσος, ὡς κατ' ὅμματ' αὐτίκα
παρόντι θνήσκει πλησία τῷ νυμφίῳ.
Αἰ. οὐ δῆτ' ἔμοιγε—τοῦτο μὴ δόξης ποτέ—
οὐθ' ἥδ' ὀλείται πλησία . . .

about her, only the light of her eyes is still clearly seen (*ἐναργής*); and from them comes the 'clear image of loveliness' which passes into the lover's vision. Plato (*Phaedrus*, 250 D δεινούς γὰρ ἂν παρείχεν ἔρωτας (ἡ φρόνις), εἴ τι τοιοῦτον ἐαυτῆς ἐναργὲς εἶδωλον παρείχετο εἰς ὅψιν ἰόν) refers to that ancient popular theory of vision from which the pupil of the eye takes its name in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew (*κόρη*, *pupula*, *pupilla*, *יְשִׁישׁ*, little man, apple of the eye).

'An observer looking into a person's eye can see in the dark central spot an image of himself reflected there. This is dwelt on by Plato (?) *Alcib.* i. 132 E καὶ τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ ὃ ὀρῶμεν ἔνεστί τι τῶν τοιούτων (sc. τῶν κατόπτρων); . . . ἐννεόηκας οὖν ὅτι τοῦ ἐμβλέποντος εἰς τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν τὸ πρόσωπον ἐμφαίνεται ἐν τῇ κατ' ἀντικρὺ ὀψει ὥσπερ ἐν κατόπτρῳ, ὃ δὴ καὶ κόρην καλοῦμεν, εἶδωλον ὃν τι τοῦ ἐμβλέποντος. This image of B, mirrored in A's eye and seen there by B, was by many regarded as the essential objective equivalent of the psychic fact that A sees B, just as if it were an image on A's *retina*, not in the *pupil* of A's eye.'¹ It is clear from Plato's *Phaedrus* that this εἶδωλον was not merely employed in a physical theory of love, but was itself poetically conceived as an Eros—a winged sprite passing from the beloved and entering the lover's soul through the eye. Hence 'Eros' in the *Cratylus* is derived from ἐσπεῖν, 'Himeros' from ἰέμενος ῥεῖ.

When we remember this theory of vision, and remember also that Eros to Haemon is Apatê, we see that Love must be conceived as *working with*, and not as *overriding*, the Great Thesmoi, which are not the laws of the πόλις, transgressed by Antigone, but the greater laws of the other world,² which she obeys—the laws which bind the righteous to unlawful acts; and that the victory of Love is death. Πάρεδρος must have its proper sense of 'assessor'; and thus we come to discern another shape in the darkness—Eros, who sits beside the Thesmoi, as Hades-Triptolemus sits beside the Thesmophoroi. In the *Alcestis*, the chorus using the

language of the mysteries sing to Alcestis (746): εἰ δέ τι κακῇ | πλεον ἔστ' ἀγαθοῖς, τοῦτων μετέχουσ' | Ἄιδου νύμφη παρεδρεύοις.

That Sophocles cannot have written πάρεδρος ἐν ἀρχαῖς seems to me nearly certain, if we remember that the *Archon*, the *Basileus*, and the *Polemarchos* had each two πάρεδροι (*Ath. Pol.* 56), and that consequently πάρεδρος ἐν ἀρχαῖς would suggest 'assessor in (the archon's) office.' One might as well address Love, in a serious lyric, as 'paymaster general.' Suspicion has centred on the word πάρεδρος, for metrical reasons which are inconclusive; but to me ἀρχαῖς seems more in fault. It might have been introduced by mere error, or by some corrector whose knowledge of the Athenian Constitution was a stronger point than his feeling for poetry. We are more likely to go right, if we follow up the train of association started by ἕμερος.

Of the scientific theories of vision, while some made the image in the pupil an essential factor (Democritus), others made more of the ray of fire which was supposed to stream from the eye. There was, for instance, the theory probably held by Alcmaeon, the Pythagorean physician, that the eye, through its diaphanous membranes, reflects (ἀντανεῖ) the light and all illuminated objects; and there was Plato's theory known to his successors as συναίγεια (*Timaeus*, 45). It is perhaps worth while to suggest that the true reading in our passage may be τῶν μεγάλων πάρεδρος ἐν ἀγαῖς θεσμῶν. The Thesmoi are half personified; and the word ἀγαί, with its double sense of 'radiance' and 'eyes,' carries on the image of the previous line in what seems to me a Sophoclean manner. Further it provides (what is otherwise wanting) a word in the immediate context, to which ἐμπαίζει can refer. No writer possessed of the astonishing skill displayed in this chorus could have left ἐμπαίζει immediately following ἐν ἀρχαῖς and yet not intended to refer to it: it *does* refer and makes nonsense. But with ἀγαῖς we get sense. The goddess whose invincible smile plays in that delusive light is the Great Mother, Aphrodite, who, as the mystic knows, is also Adrasteia, Dike, Ananke, whose pillar of light binds the firmament in

¹ Beare, *Greek Theories of Elementary Cognition*, p. 9 note.

² Cf. *l.* 451

ἡ ξύνοικος τῶν κάτω θεῶν Δίκη.

cosmic harmony (Plato, *Rep.* 616, Empedocles, *passim*).

Οὐρανῆ, πολύνμνε, φιλομμείδης Ἀφροδίτῃ,
ποντογενές, γενέτειρα θεά, φιλοπάπυνχε, σεμνή,
νυκτερίῃ, ζεύκτηρι, δολοπλόκε, μήτηρ ἀνάγκης·
πάντα γὰρ ἐκ σέθεν ἐστίν, ἐπεξεύξω δέ τε κόσμον
καὶ κρατείεις τρισσῶν μοιρῶν, γεννᾷς δέ τὰ πάντα
ὅσσα τ' ἐν οὐρανῷ ἐστί καὶ ἐν γαίῃ πολυκάρπῳ
ἐν πόντου τε βιθῶ, σεμνὴ Βάκχοιο πάρεδρε, . . .
ἐνζεύξασα βροτοὺς ἀχαλινώτοιςιν ἀνάγκαις.

Orphic hymn 55.

Zielinski,¹ in an illuminating discussion of the train of thought which runs through all the choruses in this play, has shown how the contrast between the two forms of Greek religion—the Olympian religion of Zeus and the more ancient religion of Gaia—is used by Sophocles as a symbol, and much more than a symbol, of the contrast between the Πόλις, with its positive, hard claim to fix by enactment the limits of human right, and Ἑλπίς and Ἔρως, the ambitions and passions which well up from the profounder obscurities of man's nature—the subconscious, as we call it—and seem to the individual who experiences them to possess a sanction immediately divine. These are of earth: they come from beneath. To articulate reason they are madness λόγον τ' ἄνοια καὶ φρενῶν Ἐρινύς. To civilisation and social order they are rebellion and anarchy. In the counsels of Zeus, they are Atê, a storm of blinding dust, a smothering ooze in the wave. But to the religious and to the artist they are Wisdom; and blessed were those sons of Erechtheus, who not only drew down from the shining ether above them (the ether of Zeus) their sustenance of intellectual σοφία and the laws of golden Harmonia, the music of due measure and orderliness and civil right, but also received up from the Great Mother, with the winds and the flowers,

‘An hunger of passions unknown,
Strong Loves of all godlike endeavour
Whom Wisdom shall throne on her
throne.’²

¹ *Festschrift für Gomperz* 1902, *Der Gedankenfortschritt in den Choraliedern der Antigone*.

² Eurip. *Medea* 824 ff. trans. Murray
τᾷ Σοφίᾳ παρέδρους πέμπειν Ἐρωτας,
παντοίας ἀρετᾶς ξυνεργούς.

Wisdom herself, ἡ Σοφία. Φερέπαφα οὖν διὰ τὴν σοφίαν καὶ τὴν ἐπαφὴν τοῦ φερομένου ἢ θεὸς ἢ ὀρθῶς καλοῖτο . . . δι' ὅπερ καὶ σύνεστιν αὐτῇ ὁ Ἄιδης σοφὸς ὢν, νῦν δὲ αὐτῆς ἐκκλίνουσι τὸ ὄνομα . . . ὥστε Φερέφατταν αὐτὴν καλεῖν (Plato, *Krat.* 404 D).

Aphrodite, as Earth-Korê,³ melts into Persephone: μικρὰ δέ, φησίν (a Gnostic), ἐστὶ τὰ μυστήρια τὰ τῆς Περσεφείδης κάτω, περὶ ὧν μυστηρίων καὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἀγοῦσης ἐκεῖ οὔσης πλατείας καὶ εὐρυχώραν καὶ φερούσης τοὺς ἀπολλυμένους ἐπὶ τὴν Περσεφόνην . . . καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς (Parmenides, in Meineke's opinion, but is not Empedocles equally probable?) δέ φησιν

αὐτὰρ ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἐστὶν ἀταρπιτὸς ὀκνέουσα
κοίλῃ, πηλώδης· ἥ δ' ἡγήσασθαι ἀρίστη
ἄλσος ἐς ἱμερόεν πολυτιμῆτου Ἀφροδίτης.⁴

Of a cult of the dead at a small statue of Aphrodite Ἐπιτυμβία we know from Plutarch, *Q. R.* 23.

In the present context⁵ we imperatively require a suggestion of the Underworld Goddesses, to maintain the symbolic meaning of the Gaia religion which Zielinski has pointed out elsewhere. Sophocles has given us such suggestions in εὐλέκτρον Νύμφας, τῶν Μεγάλων . . . Θεσμῶν, and πάρεδρος. The very order of these last words is so contrived that τῶν Μεγάλων πάρεδρος is completed in our thoughts by Θεῶν before we reach the Θεσμῶν, which confirms the completion by hinting at Θεσμοφόρων. And these Thesmoi are the underworld analogue of the Themis who is πάρεδρος of Zeus. We recall the address to Zeus in the Atê chorus (609): ἀγήρως δὲ χρόνῳ δυνάστας κατέχεις Ὀλύμπου | μαρμαρόεσσαν αἴγλαν. This celestial brilliance, like the sunlight which another poet calls the sight-rays of the eye of Heaven—ὄμμα γὰρ αἰθέρος ἀκάματον σελαγείται μαρμαραίας ἐν

³ For this subject see J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, p. 641.

⁴ Hippol. *Ref.* v. 8, p. 115, 76 = Diels *Fragm. der Vors.*¹, *Parm.* (dub.) 20.

⁵ The lines which immediately precede this chorus are:

ὅπως μίasma πᾶσ' ὑπεκφύγη πόλις,
κάκει τὸν Ἄιδην, ὃν μόνον σέβει θεῶν
αἰτουμένη που τεύζεται τὸ μὴ θανεῖν,
ἥ γινώσεται γοῦν ἀλλὰ τῆνικαδ' ὅτι
πόνος περισσός ἐστι τᾷ Ἀΐδου σέβειν.

αἰγαῖς, Ar. *Clouds* 285 (a mystical passage by the way)—has, if my conjecture be right, its analogue in the underworld, as the fire in Plato's Cave is the analogue of the sun¹.

And this reminds us, finally, that the word αἰγαί is associated with the blaze of light of the mystic ἐποπτεία, as in the context of the passage already quoted from the *Phaedrus* (250 c), εὐδαίμονα φάσματα μνούμενοί τε καὶ ἐποπτεύοντες ἐν αὐτῇ καθαρῇ, καθαροὶ ὄντες...: *Republic* 540 A πρὸς τέλος ἤδη ἀκτέον καὶ ἀναγκαστέον ἀνακλίναντας τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῇν ('the radiant light of the soul,' Adam) εἰς αὐτὸ ἀποβλέψαι τὸ πᾶσι φῶς παρέχον: 516 A (of emerging from the Cave) ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τὸ φῶς ἔλθοι, αὐτῇς ἂν ἔχοντα τὰ ὄμματα μεστὰ ὄρᾶν οἷδ' ἂν ἐν δύνασθαι τῶν νῦν λεγομένων ἀληθῶν. Sophocles himself in the *Ajax* (70) mentions the sight-rays ἐγὼ γὰρ ὀμμάτων ἀποστροφῶν | αὐγὰς ἀπείρξω σὴν πρόσσοψιν εἰσιδεῖν.

I suspect that the double sense of κόρη was not without significance to the Eleusinian mystic. Empedocles, describing the structure of the eye-ball, fashioned by Aphrodite, plays on the word, as Alexander notes (ad Arist. *de Sens.* 437 b. 23 ff., Diels, *Frag. d. Vors.*¹ p. 205): 'λεπτῇσι δ' ὀθόνησιν ἐχεύατο κύκλοπα κοῦρην' εἶπεν ('Εμπεδοκλῆς) ἀντὶ τοῦ 'λεπτοῖς

¹ Iambl. *vii. Pyth.* ix. 46 τοὺς γὰρ ἀνθρώπους (ἔφη Πυθαγόρας) εἰδότες ὅτι τόπος ἅπας προσδεῖται δικαιοσύνης, μυθοποιεῖν τὴν αὐτὴν τάξιν ἔχειν παρὰ τῷ Διὶ τὴν Θέμιν καὶ παρὰ τῷ Πλούτῳ τὴν Δίκην καὶ κατὰ τὰς πόλεις τὸν νόμον, ἵνα δὲ μὴ δικαίως ἐφ' ἃ τέτακται ποιῶν ἅμα φαίνεται πάντα τὸν κόσμον συναδικῶν.

ὑμέσιν περιέλαβε τὴν κυκλοτερῆ κόρην', πρὸς τὸ ὄνομα τῆς κόρης χρησάμενος ποιητικῶς ταῖς 'ὀθόνησι' ἀντὶ τῶν ὑμένων.² Probably there are many places in lyrical poetry which would become clear to us, if we knew of these mystical word-plays and could fill in the associations which the poet is careful only to suggest remotely.

The following paraphrase may suffice to illustrate the suggested interpretation:

'Tis thou dost pluck aside, for its ruin, the heart whose righteousness is wrong; 'tis thou hast roused this strife of men in kindred blood; and victory is to the love-light clear-shining from the eyes of a Bride well-wed,—to the consort throned in radiance of the Queenly Laws; for therein plays the delusive smile of a Goddess unvanquished, the Mother of thee.'

F. M. CORNFORD.

² I suspect that the marriage of Κόρη with Hades was allegorically interpreted as the marriage of the eye of the soul with the Sun by means of the αἰγαί, the radiance of the light of truth—an allegory which Plato turned to his purpose in *Rep.* vi. There is, I am told, some reason to identify Hades with the sun in the underworld. A trace of the doctrine is found in Aristophanes *Thesm.* 17 ὀφθαλμὸν ἀντίμιμον ἡλίου τροχῶ—a phrase which we find in the Pythagorean Euryphamus (Stob. *Flor.* 103 27), who calls man πολυτελέστατον ζῶον, planted by the divine power in the cosmos, as ἀντίμιμον μὲν τὰς ἰδίας φύσιος, ὀφθαλμὸν δὲ τὰς τῶν ὄντων διακοσμάσιος. It is disputable whether the title of the Hermetic treatise Κόρη Κόσμου means 'Eye' or 'Virgin of the World.' Ἀνταυγῆς is an epithet of Protagonos-Phanes-Priapus, *Orph. hymn.* vi.

HIPPOKLEIDES' DANCE.

In the *Classical Review* for September (Vol. xxi. No. 6, page 169) Mr. A. B. Cook comments on this passage (Hdt. 6. 129). He suggests that the third dance in which Hippokleides indulged, to the great disgust of his host, was a recognised Theban dance. He supports this view by the contention that as the first dance was Laconian and the second Attic, so there is reason to suppose that the third was Theban, and further that Theban vases bear out this view. But it may

be objected that, though Hippokleides might have gone on to give an example of Theban dancing, there are at least equal grounds for presuming that the third dance was the result of personal inspiration, as indeed seems to be suggested by the way the incident is narrated in Herodotus. Again the vase-fragment which Mr. Cook reproduces appears to represent a gentleman about to turn a somersault. It is surely slender evidence for the contention that Hippokleides in putting his head down

on the table and waving with his legs, was engaging in a 'recognised, if not a ritual, performance.'

Further Mr. Cook contends that οὐ φροντὶς Ἴπποκλείδῃ does not mean 'Hippokleides doesn't care,' which would be οὐδὲν μέλει μοι; but 'Hippokleides has no cares'—'a few trochaic words appropriate to his festive fling.' Here Mr. Cook appears to me to misrepresent the sense of the passage. Kleisthenes breaks in upon Hippokleides' dancing with the ex-

clamation, 'You have danced away your marriage,' to which Hippokleides retorted (ὑπολαβὼν εἶπε) Οὐ φροντὶς Ἴπποκλείδῃ, meaning, I take it, 'this,' *i.e.* the dancing away of the marriage, 'is not a care to Hippokleides.' And Herodotus goes on to say that the expression became proverbial. Does not the joke lose its point in Mr. Cook's interpretation of the passage?

LAWRENCE SOLOMON.

University College, London.

NOTES

ON HERODAS AND HORACE.

(i) HERODAS, iii. 76: οἱ μὲς ὁμοίως τὸν σίδηρον τρώγονσιν. Read ὁμοίως, as 'ἄμοιος Siculis κακός, teste Hesychio' (Dindorf's *Stephanus Lex.*). ὁμοίως is otiose, and arose probably from the rarity of ἄμοιος, though ὁμοίῃ occurs in Galen's *Dict. Hippocr.* (in a contested sense) and μοῖος, σμοῖος are forms given by Isaac Voss: σμοῖος means στυγνός.

Nothing more natural than that Herodas should have Sicilian forms and words. Some ten in Aeschylus are well known, thanks (among others) to Athenaeus, ix. 402, who cites ἀσχέδωρος, for σῖαγρος (Aesch., *Phorc.*), and says: ὅτι δὲ Αἰσχύλος, διατρίψας ἐν Σικελίᾳ, πολλαῖς κέχρηται φωναῖς Σικελικαῖς, οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν. Neither is it wonderful that a mimiamb, such as he or Cn. Matius, should have drawn linguistic drafts on the land that was associated with their craft, Sicily. The 'Venisti huc ubi mures ferrum rodunt' (of L. Annaei Senecae *Ludus de morte Claudii*, vii.) does not help for the reading any more than the *quia Romae mures molas lingunt* of the same Ἀποκολοκύντωσις (viii.). Equally little helpful is O. Crusius' 'wo die Mäuse Eisen fressen.' (p. 21.) τὸργος [ἔστι δὲ καὶ γῆν παρὰ Σικελιώταις (Hesych.)] is another Sicilian word, Τόργιον being to τὸργος as 'Eryri' (Snowdon) to 'eryr,' eagle, in Welsh.

(ii) Horace, *Carm.* II. viii. 13, *ridet hoc*

inquam, *Venus ipsa*. Read *nequam*, and omit comma before and after. *Nequam* was written *niquam*, then *inquam*, which last is intolerably heavy in an ode of 24 lines; besides, Horace has said nothing before of Venus' laughter (in this poem). 'Antiqui *ni pro ne ponebant*' (Servius ad Verg. *Aen.* iii. 686, *ni teneant cursus*). And Lindsay's Plaut. *Captivi* has many instances. Similarly, the famous Vergilian *crux* (*Aen.* xii. 648) *Sancta ad vos anima atque istius inscia culpae* should run s. a. v. a. a. i. *nescia culpae*, as in O. Ribbeck's edition,—to name but that;—when all difficulty of scansion magically vanishes.

(iii) Horace, *Epist.* II. ii. 123 *Virtute carentia tollet*, where *carentia* is the less well authenticated reading, runs v. *calentia* t. in the Blandin. As *tollet* is in sense ambiguous, if we read *calentia*, we can translate, 'will adopt what is instinct with worth,' a much less otiose sense, after the preceding, 'nimis aspera sano laevabit cultu,' than 'will remove' 'what lacks worth' (*carentia*). Of the *carentia* readings given by Vollmer (*ueberlief. des Horaz*) one is 'second hand.' [Vollmer shows we must keep *veris* in *Carm.* I. xxiii. 5 and, probably, *scaevum* in *Epist.* I. i. 6. 50.]

H. H. JOHNSON.

Université de Rennes.

PARALLEL TO LUCRETIVS IV. 588.

AN interesting parallel passage to Lucretius iv. 588 and v. 407, not given by Munro, is quoted by Ruhnken in his *Ep. Critica* ad Valck. in a note on *Hymn. Hom. xvi. vs. 12-16*. After quoting *Lucr. iv. 592*, he says—'Qui versus expressi sunt ex eleganti Platonis epigrammate in statuum Panis fistula canentis, *Anthol. iv. 12 p. 474*.

Αὐτὸς ἐπεὶ σύριγγι μελίσσεται εὐκελάδῳ Πᾶν
ΥΓΡὸν ἰεὺς ζευκτῶν χεῖλος ὑπὲρ καλάμων,'
and reads for ὑγρὸν ΥΓΡὸν, quoting in support of this *Anthol. i. 48, p. 142*,
*Ω Πᾶν φερβομέναις ἱερὰν φάτιν ἄπνε ποιόμναις
Κυρτὸν ὑπὲρ χρυσέων χεῖλος ἰεὺς δονάκων.

N. H.

ON SOPHOCLES, *ANTIGONE* 368.

νόμους ΠΑΡΕΙΡΩΝ χθονὸς θεῶν τ' ἔνορκον
δίκαν ὑψίπολις.

παρείρων MSS. Reiske conjectures γερ-
αίρων followed by Jebb.

Read ΠΕΡ ΑΙΡΩΝ. This is supported
by Schneidewin τ' αείρων and Schaefer γὰρ
αἶρων.

Translate 'man comes now to good, when,
that is (περ), exalting the laws of the land,
and justice sworn in heaven's name, he

dwells in a high city.' ὑψίπολις seems to
make αἶρων certain.

Again, the colon after ἔρπει 367 makes an
interruption to which nothing answers in the
strophe.

Read therefore :—

ἄλλοτ' ἐπ' ἐσθλὸν ἔρπει
νόμους περ αἶρων χθονὸς θεῶν τ' ἔνορκον δίκαν
ὑψίπολις. ἄπολις κτέ.

F. GRANGER.

DEMOSTHENES AND ST. LUKE.

HAS it ever been suggested that the words
in Luke 1. 3 are a reminiscence of ἀλλὰ καὶ
παρηκολουθηκότα τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς in
Demosthenes' *De Corona* 285 (172)? To
my eye they have this appearance. The
exordium of St. Luke has a decidedly clas-
sical colour. There are many plain indications
that he was a man of considerable culture,

and the passage in 'De Corona' is likely to
have been as familiar to every educated
Hellenist of St. Luke's time as, say, such a
passage as that in Milton's 'Areopagitica'
beginning: 'Methinks I see in my mind a
noble and puissant nation,' etc.

ALEX. LEEPER.

ARISTOPHANES, *FROGS* 1028.

As the Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society appeal only to a limited constituency, I venture to call attention to a restoration of the line Ar. *Frogs* 1028 which I published in the Proceedings for the Lent Term 1893, p. 5. Hitherto, so far as I am aware, it has been unnoticed, but I still believe

in it. Read instead of ἡνίκ' ἤκουσα περὶ Δαρείου τεθνεώτος, which is neither metre nor sense, ἡνίκ' ἐκώκυσαν περὶ Δ. τ. This describes the great sensational scene of the *Persae*, the invocation at Darius' tomb, and the appearance of his ghost. (vv. 658 foll.)

E. SEYMER THOMPSON.

REVIEWS

LERMANN'S *ALTGRIECHISCHE PLASTIK*.

Altgriechische Plastik. Von Dr. WILHELM LERMANN. München: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1907. 4to. Pp. xiii + 231. Eighty cuts in text, twenty coloured plates. Cloth, 25 m.

DR. LERMANN'S book is not a general or systematic account of early Greek sculpture but a series of chapters on particular parts or aspects of it.

It is more largely concerned with Athenian art than that of other schools. The question of the colouring of sculpture particularly interests him, and to this branch of the subject he devotes the whole of the twenty plates of his work, reproducing in them the patterns painted on the dresses of the Corae of Athens in the original size and colouring. The text however, and the cuts in it, deal with many sides of archaic art:—poros sculpture, the naked male figure, the draped female figure, the archaic smile, the treatment of hair, male and female figures in transitional art, works in relief, and the composition of pediments.

Dr. Lermann seldom discusses the meaning of statues or figures in relief; he gives few references to works of other archaeologists. His discussions bear upon art questions, lines

of development, points of style, and the like. In some places, especially in the chapter on the naked male form,¹ he founds himself largely upon Lange, whose genial and penetrating work has had much influence on writers on early Greek art. Very often however Dr. Lermann takes a line of his own, and much that he has to say is interesting, though discussions upon style without much regard to subject are apt to be unsatisfying.

The only way to give the reader a notion of this construction is to bring before him a few of the members or mouldings of it, which may be done pretty much at random, as the book is full of stylistic judgments, some better, some worse. We will begin at p. 142, where we find a discussion of the youth by Stephanos in the Albani Gallery. The original of this Dr. Lermann gives to the time immediately after the Persian wars. In 'the rounded forms and slight proportions we discern the work of an Attic artist,' yet he observes that it follows in type the canon of the Argive school of Hageladas. On the other hand the bronze Apollo of Herculaneum (usually classed with the last)¹ is declared to betray Peloponnesian work in the 'hard flat

¹ Here; and below I put my own remarks in brackets.

almost angular treatment of the body.' The similar Apollo of the Terme in Rome is of pure Attic character 'The nobility of its forms and the fine repose of the attitude, closely coinciding with the well-known krater of Orvieto, enable us to discern in it the work of an artist of the circle of Polygnotus ; while it shows in the locks on the neck the form of the skull and the wonderful charm of expression some likeness to the Zeus of Olympia' (about the style of which, by the way, we know almost nothing).

On p. 150 begins a discussion of the bronze charioteer from Delphi, which Dr. Lermann values so highly as to place it in artistic value far above the Hermes of Praxiteles. After an elaborate analysis he comes to the conclusion that 'alike in general type and in certain peculiarities in the work of details it is about midway between the style of the Attic and that of the Argive school.' The well-known portrait of Pericles is regarded as so similar to the head of the charioteer that it is probably by a pupil of the man who made the bronze statue. Trying more precisely to determine the author of the charioteer, Dr. Lermann suggests Onatas as a member of 'the school, unfortunately at present lost to knowledge, of Aegina.' (To me *verschollen* seems a most extraordinary word to apply to the school of Aegina, which is surely better known to us than almost any archaic school.) It occurs however to Dr. Lermann that the style of the charioteer does not agree with that of the well-known Aeginetan pediments ; but he bids us 'remember, how in this time full of swift change and rapid transitions in Athens contrasts meet.'

I will not proceed, for it is not entirely fair to compress Dr. Lermann's judgments thus : one loses the reasons and the links. And there is undoubtedly in the book, as I have already observed, a good deal of interesting observation and suggestion. I wished however to bring out clearly the dangers of a fashion of criticism which prevails far too widely in Greek archaeology. Brunn began by concentrating our observation on points of style in sculpture, and by his method he made many remarkable discoveries, such as the Eirene and Plutus

of Cephissodotus and the works of the Pergamene school, which certainly proved it to have efficacy. Professor Furtwängler's *Masterpieces* carried the method further ; and in reviewing that extremely able work I pointed out to what dangerous ground such arguments led. In the result those fears have been justified.

After Furtwängler came Klein and Sauer and many other able archaeologists ; until we have reached a stage when many writers of standing consider themselves in a position to assign works represented to us only by Roman copies not only to a particular school, but often to a particular artist, of whom we know little more than the name. The facts are in danger of being drowned in an ocean of theory and conjecture. Of course criticism of style has its uses and is necessary, but unless it is dominated by strong good sense, and determination to exaggerate nothing and overlook nothing, it may become an *ignis fatuus*.

We must make our way back to the land. For a really scientific history of Greek art we have in abundance data, the solidity of which cannot be denied. We have inscriptions, and coins, and dated buildings and monuments in abundance. We must more rigidly discern between facts which will bear a superstructure and theories which will not. We must build our views more exclusively on dated originals.

Dr. Lermann however, and that is a saving virtue in him, does deal mainly with originals. But even so, unless a certain breadth and sobriety of judgment is used, and subtle refinements are avoided, art criticism is dangerous. Dr. Lermann, for example, writes of the Athena of the West Pediment of Aegina that it is 'a figure of insipid and mechanical fabric, which certainly comes from an inconsiderable sculptor, or even from a workman.' In my opinion this is a great injustice to a charming and most delicately finished statue. But setting mere aesthetic judgment aside, is it at all probable that if the Athena had been made by a workman who was no artist, it would have been placed where it stood ?

Nothing could better show the superiority of documents to art-judgments than the way

in which the Grenfell papyrus, containing lists of Olympic victors, has settled the dates of the activities of Myron and Polycleitus, and shown the erroneousness of recent theories on the subject, which have been based on untrustworthy data.

It is exceedingly difficult to follow much of the criticism of Dr. Lermann without reference to the originals, or at least to casts. He gives small engravings of some of the most important figures; but of course not of all. And such vague references as 'No. 56 des ath. nat. Mus.' and 'zwei in Cherchel aufgefundenen weitere Repliken des Werkes' are trying to a man whose time is limited.

The task which Dr. Lermann has attempted in his plates of preserving for posterity the rapidly vanishing colouring of the archaic ladies of Athens is one of considerable importance; and for the attempt he cer-

tainly deserves our gratitude. His colours are somewhat harsh; how far they are faithful it would only be possible to judge in the Museum of the Acropolis. I have compared the plates with Pls. 18 and 39 of the *Antike Denkmäler* of the German Institute, and with the coloured cast published by Miss Ingrid Kjaer, who is now Dr. Lermann's wife; and found many differences, the colours blue and green in particular being frequently transposed. Dr. Lermann claims greater accuracy than his predecessors; and no doubt his plates embody the latest and most detailed examination.

It is in these plates, and in the very detailed examination of figures in the Athenian museums, that the value of Dr. Lermann's work mainly consists, rather than in his attempts to assign works to particular schools.

P. GARDNER.

THE DISCOVERIES IN CRETE.

The Discoveries in Crete and their bearing on the history of Ancient Civilization. By Prof. R. M. BURROWS. London: Murray. Pp. 244. 5s.

CAREFUL consideration of Prof. Burrows's book is calculated to deepen our impression of its value, not so much to the general reader (who would demand more illustrations) as to the general archaeologist. Prof. Burrows's book is an up-to-date critical discussion of the main problems of 'Mycenaeanology' or 'Minöology' as they stand today, now that the lull in Cretan excavation enables us to look about us and see where we are. That such a commentary is of use to all archaeologists outside the circle of those actually engaged in these excavations (and even to them also as shewing them how their arguments present themselves to the minds of others) is indubitable. And the absence of illustrations will not be felt by archaeologists, who will know where to look for them.

Prof. Burrows plunges into the middle of things in his first chapter, which is occasion-

ally somewhat dithyrambic in tone. But with the third chapter our author becomes less picturesque, and settles down into a steady gait, broken only by occasional Wegg-like droppings into poetry in the course of his 'declining and falling off' the Minoan Empire (e.g. pp. 144, 206). These jerky little quotations from the poets, apt though they may be, are unrestful in effect.

The general position taken up by Prof. Burrows in regard to the Cretan discoveries is one of agreement with Dr. Evans's dating and arrangement, as confirmed from the Egyptian side, and therefore of disagreement with the novel and revolutionary proposals of Dr. Dörpfeld, which apparently do not take the Egyptian evidence into much consideration. It is probable that in Germany the orientalisks do not come into such close contact with the Greek archaeologists as they do here, where constant interchange of opinion and consultation between the 'Mycenaeanologists' and the Egyptologists has become the order of the day, and the archaeology of both Egypt and early Greece

is becoming more and more treated from a common 'Mediterranean' point of view. In fact here the theory of an ultimate common origin for both Nilotic and Aegean civilization in Africa, towards which Dr. Evans's own conclusions have always tended, is gradually gaining more adherents. In his recent articles on 'Cretan Palaces' in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, Dr. Mackenzie advocates it, and brings forward the argument, which is difficult for the apologists of an entirely northern origin of Aegean culture to answer, of the Mycenaean wastecloth. This comes from a hot climate, not from a cold one.¹

Prof. Burrows, while acknowledging in a final appendix that Dr. Mackenzie's argument about the wastecloth is convincing, yet in the main body of his book seems to hanker after an alternative theory of an Italic origin for the Minoan civilization, which would fit in with Prof. Conway's belief that the Eteocretan language of Praesos was Indo-European and specially kin to Venetic. Prof. Burrows discusses this possibility thoroughly and fairly, and quite rightly points out that it would be an error to regard 'Eteocretan' as necessarily identical with 'Minoan': the Eteocretans may have been an Italian colony of the Late Minoan III time. We certainly have traditional connexions between Minoan Crete and Italy; and should Prof. Conway's

view that there was an Italic language element in Crete be confirmed, these traditions may combine with the Egyptian records of Shardana, Shekelsha, and Tuirsha to indicate vaguely to us an Italian over-running of the Aegean at the time when the 'isles were restless,' and before the North-erners came down into continental Greece. I have preferred to regard Shardana as Sardians and Shekelsha as Sagalassians, and I still think they were; but it may be that Sardians were Sardinians, and Sagalassians were Sikels, originally, all the same. The sea-rovers settled on all the Levantine coasts: we find Danuna, whom all agree to regard as Danaans, on the coast of Palestine as early as the time of the Tell el-Amarna letters.

There is no doubt that the great age of Knossos, the period of those Keftians who took gifts to Hatshepsu and Thothmes III, came to an end at the beginning of the long strife in the Mediterranean, which may well have begun with a swarming eastwards of the Italians, presumably already Aryanized but still bronze-using, in the fifteenth century B.C. To these 'Völkerschaaen' streaming and storming by the overthrow of the native Aegean dominion of the non-Aryan Keftians was no doubt due. And to this age of 'Sturm und Drang,' and consequent lowered civilization, corresponds in point of time the period of artistic development which Dr. Evans calls 'Late Minoan III'; the period which we used to know as 'Mycenaean,' and may still call so, in contradistinction to the older true 'Minoan' period of the Keftians. At this time the centre of the Aegean culture probably shifted out of the way of the sea-rovers to safe holds on the mainland of Greece: the ancient Cretan colony of Tiryns gave birth to the new Achaean Mycenae, perhaps. In the islands, a new Italian element of population, bringing Indo-European tongues for the first time into the Aegean, settled now among the older inhabitants, and in the eastern end of Crete one of their dialects remained untouched by either the ancient non-Aryan tongue of the old Aegeans or the later Aryan speech of the true Greeks from the north into classical times. On this theory the true Greek

¹ On p. 220 of the last number of the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, Dr. Mackenzie says that my use of the 'designations "kleinasiatish" and "Asiatic," as well as other statements in the passage cited' ('The Two Labyrinths,' *J.H.S.* xxv. p. 323), 'would seem to indicate an underlying belief on Mr. Hall's part that the primary movement of the Aegeo-Pelasgian people was from an initial centre of departure in Asia.' I should have thought that the concluding sentences of my article (*loc. cit.* p. 337) would have shewn that I did not believe anything of the kind. I have never thought that the Mediterraneans (Aegeans and Egyptians) came from Asia Minor, and for some time past it has seemed to me that the place of common origin was Africa, perhaps the Nile-valley itself rather than 'Libya.' I used the words 'kleinasiatish' and 'Asiatic' of language, not of race, simply because Lycian and Carian are the best-known examples of the non-Aryan language-group to which I believe 'Minoan' belonged, and they have naturally been called 'kleinasiatish' and 'Asiatic,' because they were spoken in Asia Minor. It seems to me that if we are to regard the Carians and Lycians as akin to the Minoans, they came from the west and south, like them.

element will be that of the later comers (the 'Dorians' of tradition) who brought with them the use of iron, and made the geometrical pottery. I imagine that Prof. Burrows would be inclined to agree with me in some such explanation as this. It would be interesting if the Achaean name (*Akaiwasha*) really came from Italy!

The date of the Italian incursion would have to be placed roughly between 1450 and 1400 B.C. As Prof. Burrows shews, the date of the Rekhmarā fresco at Thebes, in which Cretans of Late Minoan II are depicted, is about 1450 B.C. at latest, while at Tell el-Amarna about 1400-1350 B.C. we find Late Minoan III (true Mycenaean) pottery.

Prof. Burrows's discussion of the Egyptian chronology is very good, but I can object that he is too much inclined to give his allegiance to chronological systems which provide absolutely definite dates. It is perhaps natural that a Greek archaeologist, used to an exact chronology, should be discontented with the vaguely approximate dates which Egyptologists have until lately, and I think with wisdom, preferred, and should be inclined to regard as a heinous error the continued acceptance of an approximate date which is perhaps half-a-century or so earlier than that which the latest evidence seems to indicate as the real one. But an approximate date is an approximate date, and is not intended to be anything else. And an approximate date is safest, even for the XVIIIth Dynasty, of which we now know so much. Prof. Burrows prefers to use for this dynasty the very definite system of Prof. Eduard Meyer. There are one or two objections to Prof. Meyer's system, as regards the XVIIIth Dynasty, apart from its unsafe definiteness of date. It assumes, for instance, as certain a theory, maintained by Prof. Breasted, which swallows up the reigns of Thothmes II and Hatshepsu in that of Thothmes III. This theory is not yet

accepted by Prof. Naville, so that it may yet be shewn that Meyer's date for the beginning of the dynasty is several years too low. In any case an approximate system based on Meyer's dates would be the lowest possible.

As regards the application of Egyptian dates to the chronology of the Cretan artistic styles, Prof. Burrows, following von Bissing, is inclined to dissociate Middle Minoan II from the XIIth Dynasty, and make it with Middle Minoan III, equivalent rather to the Hyksos period. If the Hagios Onouphrios deposit is really contemporaneous with the XIIth Dynasty, this would seem an almost necessary proceeding. But now Prof. Garstang has discovered in an untouched grave at Abydos, a Middle Minoan II pot with cylinders of XIIth Dynasty kings. The grave is no doubt contemporary with the cylinders, so that Middle Minoan II cannot be later than the XIIth Dynasty. We have still to explain the evidence of Hagios Onouphrios.

I regret that considerations of space do not allow me to discuss other questions raised by Prof. Burrows. He has not convinced me that my defence of Mayer's theory of the meaning of the 'Labyrinth' name was wrong; and I doubt if he is right in thinking that the giving of the name 'Labyrinth' to the Temple of Hawara is as old as the Minoan period. It seems to me more probable that there was a Greek tradition of the many passages and shining walls of the Knossian Labyrinth, and that the Greeks who visited Egypt under the Saïtes first gave the name of *λαβύρινθος* to the Egyptian maze of shining walls at Hawara. On the point as to Egyptian wall-building, as compared with that of Knossos, about which he asks for information (p. 104, n.²), the stones of the great XIth Dynasty walls at Deir el-Bahari are set in a thin bonding of clay or mortar, like those of Knossos.

H. R. HALL.

DAVIDSON'S *STOIC CREED*.

The Stoic Creed. By WILLIAM L. DAVIDSON, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Aberdeen. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1907. 8vo. 1 vol. Pp. xxiii + 274. 4s. 6d. net.

PROFESSOR DAVIDSON has given us in this book an interesting general summary of the Stoic philosophy. Students who are familiar with the literature of the subject will not find much that is new to them in this summary; and perhaps the interests even of the general reader would have been better consulted if the author had gone more into detail on many of the interesting points that have recently been discussed. In particular, we should have been glad to see a fuller statement of the parts played by the various members of the Stoic school in the formulation of the creed. From the point of view of the exact history of philosophy, we should have preferred to see less use made of the late Stoics and more use made of the fragments of Zeno, Cleanthes, and Chrysippus; for there can be no doubt that these were the formative thinkers of the school, and that the members of the Middle and Later Stoa did little but repeat the older arguments, enforcing them by apt illustration and clever rhetoric, but often, also, losing consistency by borrowing ideas from other schools. Probably one might go further and say that *all* the main ideas of Stoicism are to be found already in Zeno—that the task of Cleanthes was simply that of systematising, and the task of Chrysippus, that of finding new arguments for old conclusions. The general relation of the main thinkers of the school is correctly stated by Prof. Davidson, but in a book of this size room might surely have been found for a more detailed treatment of the question. The object of the book, however, is different. Its object is to present Stoicism as a single closed system of ideas, important by reason of its high moral tone and its influence on several successive generations. The author has achieved this task in a distinctly interesting way. He has chosen characteristic and forcible passages

from Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius, and has given us a fairly complete picture of the Stoic beliefs, especially on the ethical and theological sides. The book also contains much shrewd and sensible criticism, of which pp. 99–104 on the Stoic cosmology are perhaps the most favourable specimen.

Now to turn to some points where alteration or expansion might be desired. The relation of psychology to philosophy (pp. 42–43) is not very clearly conceived, and such phrases as ‘a philosophical vocabulary (which was very much the same thing as a psychological vocabulary)’ and ‘the attempt to introduce technical exactness into philosophical speech bespoke a psychological interest on the part of the Stoics that is remarkable’ can surely not be defended. A somewhat similar confusion between the philosophical sciences is found on page 47, where the refutation of Epicurean Hedonism is treated as a task for Epistemology. The debt of Stoicism to Plato and Aristotle seems to be somewhat underestimated. Polemo the Academic could say with some truth οὐ λανθάνεις, ὦ Ζήνων, τὰ δόγματα κλέπτων φοινικικῶς μεταμφιεσνύς (Diog. Laert. vii. 25). The Stoic arguments against pleasure are borrowed from Plato and those against scepticism from Aristotle.

We should have welcomed more information than is given on p. 65 about the λόγος doctrine, so important in its influence on theology; and some discussion should have been offered of the meaning of καταληπτική (p. 75). For some good remarks on this subject we may refer to A. Dyroff in *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, xvii. 148.—P. 122, the vitalistic controversy is summed up more strongly in favour of vitalism than the facts can as yet be said to warrant. The question how far the Stoics were the real introducers of ‘duty’ into ethics (p. 154) might with profit have been discussed. The Stoic arguments for the existence of God might be put more clearly. (2) (c) is stated somewhat obscurely (p. 220) and seems to be little more than a repetition of (2) (a).

Other important points which one would

like to have seen treated are the nominalism of the Stoic theory of knowledge; their theory of the uniqueness of the individual on the one hand, and of the *κράσις δι' ὅλων* and *συμπάθεια τῶν ὅλων* on the other; the interest of the Middle (in contrast with the Earlier

and Later) Stoa in natural science—an interest due no doubt to Peripatetic influence; the apologetic importance attached in Cicero and Seneca to the beauty (as well as the design) in nature.

W. D. Ross.

ROGERS'S *PLUTUS*.

The Plutus of Aristophanes. Edited and translated by B. B. ROGERS, M.A., with a translation of the *Menaechmi* of Plautus. Bell, 1907. Pp. xxxii + 209. 8s. 6d.

THE *Plutus* gives no very great scope to the tasteful and skilful translator, but readers will enjoy Mr. Rogers' trochaics in the scene between Carion and the chorus and his anapaests in that between Poverty and the two old men. Whether or no he is right in deprecating the general adverse verdict on the dramatic merits of the play, it has at any rate less spirit and less occasional elevation than most of the others. Mr. Rogers, like the good translator that he is, is content to rise and fall with his author, and therefore we must not here look for such attractive verses as the *Birds* (say), the *Wasps*, the *Clouds* offer in their English form. One small criticism I venture to offer on the run of his rhymes, which applies no doubt to all his versions, but certainly to that of the *Plutus*. The *enjambement* by which at the end of the rhyming couplet the sense is carried on without any pause into the next line seems to me too freely used. No doubt different ears are differently affected by the practice. Myself almost a devotee of Pope in this matter, I am always uncomfortably jolted and thrown out by the licence, and I imagine many people feel the same thing.

In his notes on lines 430, 497, 1178 Mr. Rogers seems to consider that he has a novel theory to propound: the idea namely that bad men are expected under the new state of things, seeing the advantage of goodness, to become good and therefore rich, so that no poor people will be left at all

in the world. He says that the poet's meaning has escaped all scholiasts and commentators. But, unless there is some point here which I miss, this idea is clearly stated in the notes not only of Green and Van Leeuwen, but even (with a quotation from Bergler's 1760 edition) of Blaydes, whom Mr. Rogers specially charges with not understanding it. Nor is Blaydes' conjectural change of 497 either bad Greek or inconsistent with the meaning Mr. Rogers requires, while the vulgate is certainly open to serious objection, as using *πλουτοῦντας* for *πλουσίους* and most awkwardly divorcing *τά τε θεῖα σέβοντας* from *χρηστούς*. In 689 Mr. Rogers emends *ὑφήρει* to *ὑφήκε*; in 697 he puts a stop after *ἤδη*; and in 725 he thinks some word signifying 'frequenting' or 'interfering with' should be substituted for *ἔν' ἐπομνύμενον*. The *θανεῖν* he would read in 216 (*κάν με δέη θανεῖν*) is justified neither by the *θανών* of *Ach.* 893, which is a parody, nor by the *τεθνήναι* of *Frogs* 1012, for *τέθνηκα* (not *ἀποτέθνηκα*) is the regular Attic word, while *ἔθανον* is not. In the introduction he expresses his opinion that the *Plutus* of 408 had nothing in common with our play. 'It is inconceivable' that the poet 'should at that date have written a comedy bearing any resemblance to the present in tone or character.' Considering how scanty is our knowledge of the varieties of Old Comedy, and also how comparatively late 408 is, this seems to me rather too confidently affirmed. On the other hand he holds on not quite sufficient grounds that our play was subsequently revised by Aristophanes himself and re-exhibited in the new form, and that the scholiasts were much misled by this.

In the same volume (and also issued

separately) is a verse translation of the *Menæchmi*, intended to show English readers the features of the post-Aristophanic New Comedy. The *Menæchmi* is chosen partly for its own sake, partly from its connexion with the *Comedy of Errors*. Mr.

Rogers refers of course to the view that it goes back to Epicharmus rather than the New Comedy, *sicelises* as the prologue says, not *atticises*, but he inclines to the other opinion.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

ATTI DEL CONGRESSO INTERNAZIONALE.

Atti del congresso internazionale di scienze storiche (Roma, 1-9 Aprile, 1903). Vol. I. —Parte generale. Rome: Ermanno Loescher and Co., 1907. Large 8vo. 9" x 6½". Pp. x+324. 9 Photogravures. 10 lire.

THIS is the first in order, though the last to be published, of the twelve volumes of the transactions of the international congress of historical sciences, held in Rome in the first nine days of April 1903. The preparations for the congress date from the latter half of 1900, so that these nine days have involved altogether no less than seven years' work for its organisers, more especially for the president, Sen. Pasquale Villari, and the editor of the transactions, Comm. Giacomo Gorrini. This was the third congress of its kind; the first (almost exclusively diplomatic in character) having been held at the Hague in 1898, and the second in Paris in 1900. A fourth is to be held in Berlin from August 6-12, 1908.

It is a common criticism of such conferences as this, that they have no tangible results,—that their only value lies in the opportunity for personal intercourse and interchange of views which they offer. Even if this were the case, they would still more than justify their existence by their influence on the progress of knowledge. And the removal of international asperities in one branch at least of human activity is no slight matter. But the congress of 1903 has undeniably had results in other directions. To its representations are due, among other events of considerable importance for historical science, the publication, now in progress, of the series of mediaeval maps of Italy (*Regesta chartarum Italiae*), and also a great increase in the

facilities for research in the archives of certain states,—Austria and Bavaria, for instance. And the foundation in 1904 of a Dutch institute for historical studies in Rome was directly due to its influence.

Lastly, we have the distinctly tangible result of twelve large octavo volumes of transactions. The volume before us is principally concerned with matters of a general character. It contains the lists of the 41 states,—ranging literally from China to Peru,—which took part in the congress, and of their delegates: of the 85 learned societies and the 2275 individuals inscribed as members: programmes of the general and sectional meetings, reports of speeches, statements of accounts, etc. A list of the resolutions of the various sections is of considerable interest. Some of these, as we have mentioned, have already borne fruit; others are, unfortunately, little more than pious wishes,—for instance, 'placet . . . ut ii omnes, qui ubique latinam linguam discunt, una atque eadem pronuntiandi ratione uti doceantur.'

An appendix to this volume contains a complete bibliography of Swedish publications relating to the history of Italy.

Four photographs illustrate an archaeological tour organised by the congress, two representing the mediaeval ruins of Ninfa, and two the 'Pelagic' remains of Norba, to which, however, as a result of the excavations then in progress, a date not earlier than the fifth century B.C. has been assigned. The remaining illustrations are concerned with the plan of Rome known as the *Forma urbis Severiana*, which was engraved on marble slabs between 203 and 211 A.D., and the fragments of which were discovered in 1562. There is a valuable photograph of the plan,

reconstructed from the fragments, as it was unveiled at the opening of the congress (on a smaller scale this photograph has already appeared in the fifth volume of the transactions), and four plates showing details in which this reconstruction modifies or goes beyond that of Heinrich Jordan in his *Forma urbis Romae* (Berlin, 1874). Considerable progress has been made in this reconstruction, e.g. in the collocation of the Porticus divorum, the Serapeum, and the Stagnum Agrippae, but of the 1049 fragments 882 still remain unplaced. It may be remarked that there is a considerable difference in the position of the group containing the Templum Dianae on the Aventine in this plan and in the posthumous volume of Jordan's *Topographie der Stadt Rom* (Vol. iii., Ed. Huelsen, 1907).

It is beyond the scope of these remarks to say much of the actual record of the congress. The eleven volumes of trans-

actions have been for some time before the public, having been published for the most part in 1904. Their publication did not form part of the original plan, and the reluctance of Comm. Gorrini to undertake the task of editing the collection is easily understood. For, valuable as the individual articles are, there were other methods, involving less labour and expense, by which they might have been published. However, apart from the difficulties of the undertaking, there is everything to be said for the publication of a series which has (to quote Sen. Villari's words) 'the merit of being an important contemporary record of the historical knowledge of the greatest and most civilised states of the world.' It is to be hoped that next year's congress at Berlin will be as well organised, as well attended, and as fruitful in results.

A. G. SHIRREFF.

Les 'Métamorphoses' d'Ovide et leurs modèles grecs. Par G. LAFAYE, Professeur adjoint à la Sorbonne. (Bibliothèque de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris.) Paris: Félix Alcan, 1904. 8^d in-8°. Pp. 260. Fr. 8.50.

THE admirer of Ovid will be glad to find that this study does not dwell on his faults or depreciate him in the usual manner by comparison with Virgil or Lucretius. Prof. Lafaye, while critically aware of the demerits of his author, is enthusiastic in his appreciation and is not afraid of saying where and how he has improved upon his Alexandrian predecessors. 'Of all the Metamorphoses which we have witnessed in Ovid's poem, not the least astonishing is that which he has made his models undergo.' The Essay commences with an interesting account of the part which Metamorphosis had played in the literature of Greece. The mere statement of the change of shape which marks early poetry gives place in the Alexandrian period to a detailed description of the process, reminding us at once of Ovid's own lavish treatment. This desire for greater detail is

to be ascribed partly to the more modern spirit, partly to the influence of other arts, still more to that of science, which had never eschewed the miraculous. We are given an exhaustive account of the sources which Ovid may or may not have used. We consider in turn his debt to actual collections of Metamorphoses, such as those of Boeus, Nicander. Parthenius and Theodorus, to manuals of Mythology, to Epic, Elegiac and Tragic poetry, to Rhetoric, to Philosophy and Science. M. Lafaye's judgment is sane, and, where he has definite evidence to go upon, he commands our assent and our approval of his conclusions. As to the main point there can be no dispute. Ovid, though one has reason to suppose that the masterpieces of the Classical age of Greek literature exercised their due influence, was in spirit a modern

Prisca juvent alios: ego me nunc denique natum

Gratulor: haec aetas moribus apta meis (quoted p. 111).

In the tendencies and feelings by which he was swayed he was more akin to the

Alexandrians than to the authors of a remoter period. Thus much we grant readily. But at the same time we must confess to a certain weariness at the 'Nimia imitationis in auctoribus antiquis indagandae cupiditas.' The very fairness of M. Lafaye, the very impartiality with which he states his case causes a kind of nausea, when after page on page of detailed discussion we come—and by the nature of the evidence—can come to no definite conclusions. Certain direct imitations by Ovid of his predecessors are patent, but beyond these there is the vast majority of cases, where we have the same subjects treated by other authors who have survived. Is Ovid directly imitating? Can we even conclude that he has read the work in question? In the attempts to solve these problems we notice two opposite tendencies, of which the former is seen more frequently: first, the desire to find a source (inventing if need be) for every matter treated by Ovid—*e.g.* it is assumed that some other Alexandrian than Nicander must have been imitated by Ovid in the story of Ceyx and Alcyone; secondly, the hypothesis that where he narrates incidents not known to us from any other source he is himself the inventor, *e.g.* the second metamorphosis of Ceneus. Both suppositions may have something to recommend them, but they remain mere suppositions, and, as such, are they worth making? Again, in the history of Icarus, the question is raised whether Ovid is imitating the *Aetia* of Callimachus or a lost tragedy of Sophocles. We note that he mentions the Icarian sea and the island, Icaria. These are '*causes*' αἰτία. 'Voilà deux motifs pour un, qui permettent de rattacher ce morceau aux *Aetia*, plutôt qu'à la tragédie de Sophocle.' As if any Roman poet could tell the story of Icarus without mentioning the Icarian sea! Such are the straws to which

even the most sober investigator is tempted to cling in the absence of evidence. Of course the argument from style and treatment follows, but this is only part of our general acknowledgment of Ovid's Alexandrianism. The case cannot be put better than by quoting Prof. Lafaye himself. On p. 221 we have a passage which indicates clearly what must be the attitude towards this book of every reader, who, while enjoying the author's literary criticism and admiring his workmanship, feels annoyance and weariness at the inherent impossibility of definite conclusions, which can command his assent. Having decided—'que dans le domaine de la philosophie et de la science l'invention, chez lui, se réduit à rien, ou peu s'en faut, et que même il n'a pas lu les ouvrages originaux écrits par des Grecs, pas même les plus récents'—the writer proceeds—'C'est là, dira-t-on, une affirmation qui paraît bien hardie, quand on songe qu'il ne nous reste de ces ouvrages grecs que des bribes et que ceux de Varron, qui nous ont guidé dans cette enquête, ne sont pas en meilleur état. Assurément; mais *ou il faut s'abstenir de pareilles recherches*, ou il faut accepter la méthode, quelles que soient les ressources dont elle dispose, sans se dissimuler que les résultats auxquels elle conduit ne peuvent jamais avoir qu'une valeur conjecturale.' This passage is illustrative in more ways than one. It is a good example of Prof. Lafaye's fairness in acknowledging the weakness of the evidence and in not pressing his conclusions too far, and at the same time it explains why the reader would sometimes almost be tempted to advocate the first alternative, were it not that he might thus incur the charge of being ungrateful for this book.

H. L. HENDERSON.

P. Ovidii Nasonis Amores. Edidit, adnotationibus exegeticis et criticis instruxit GEYZA NÉMETHY, Academiae Litterarum Hungaricae Sodalis. Budapestini: Sumptibus Academiae Litterarum Hungaricae, MCMVII. Pp. 295. Cor. 6.

THIS edition of the *Amores* supplies a real want. The preface states that the author's object is twofold—first to furnish a brief commentary, and secondly to indicate exactly Ovid's debt to his masters, Propertius and Tibullus, and also to Horace, Catullus, and

Lygdamus. Ovid's relation to the last-named, which has already been treated in an edition of Lygdamus, will form the subject of a forthcoming volume. The thesis, which the writer intends to illustrate, is enunciated clearly in the Prolegomena, where it is affirmed that Ovid, who comes fourth in the series of the Roman elegiac poets, differs from his predecessors chiefly in two respects—In the *Amores* he borrows little from the Greeks and depends almost entirely on the Roman authors above-mentioned, and, in the second place, hardly any of the poet's own experiences or feelings are reproduced in these books, 'sed paene omnia ficta et a magistris mutuata.'

M. Némethy often quotes largely instead of merely contenting himself with references and this by facilitating comparison between Ovid and his predecessors gives additional interest to his notes. The exegetical commentary is lucid and useful, and the reader will feel satisfaction in finding that the difficulties are almost invariably grappled with. The illustrative matter too is well chosen. Now and then there is a note which seems

superfluous, but M. Némethy has pleaded in extenuation his obligations to the young.

The text is based on Ehwald, and any divergence from his edition is noted. The author has however printed a good many emendations of his own, which often, we think, needlessly depart from the reading of the MSS., where the latter makes good sense. Sometimes this is due to a desire to make Ovid's lines more closely resemble some supposed model. For example in I. viii. 58 M. Némethy conjectures 'feres' for MSS. 'leges,' or again in II. xi. 9 'quam' for MSS. 'quid,' in both cases following some example in Propertius. Other needless emendations are I. vii. 37 'comitantum' for MSS. 'comitatus,' and, still more gratuitous, III. iii. 26 'nimirum' for MSS. 'et nimum.' Finally, whatever may be the explanation of the difficulty in I. vi. 57, we cannot believe in the intolerably prosy 'o janitor ipso' for MSS. 'paratior ipse.' M. Némethy's conjecture (II. iii. 17) 'at' for 'ut' has more to recommend it.

H. L. HENDERSON.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THUGGA.

Nouvelles archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires. T. xiii, fasc. 3—les inscriptions de Thugga. Par LOUIS POINSSOT. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1906. 8vo. Pp. 252.

ONE of the tasks which students of the Roman Empire are especially likely to undertake during the next few years is the compilation of monographs describing individual towns or districts. Mommsen and others have now carried the general survey of the Empire almost as far as it can be profitably carried as a survey. It is now time to begin at the other end, to select details, and examine them in the light of our general knowledge, and from those details to work out further additions to that body of knowledge. One group of details which can be usefully studied in this con-

nexion is supplied by the towns of the Empire. We know the general features which characterize them as a whole and the general extent to which we may expect variations in those features. We have now, by scrutinizing the history and civilization of individual towns, to render those general features more precise and accurate. Several such essays have already been made by students of the Roman provinces, and the volume before me is the first part of another. M. Poinssot, we understand, projects a complete account of Thugga (a town in Africa Proconsularis, some 75 miles south-west of Carthage), and he here gives us a preliminary volume containing an almost purely critical edition of the inscriptions found there—some 250 Latin and one Greek—with minute notes on the text and lettering. The work is marked by great care and scholarship, but it is a book

to consult, not one to read. It would have gained both in brevity and in clearness and would probably have cost no more to print, if its author had been able to use illustrations, either half-tone blocks from photographs or cheap zincos from pen and ink drawings. He would thus have saved much expensive type-setting, and he would also have avoided notes like the following (p. 160):—

Ligne 1. Il ne reste que le bas du Q. Il manque 0 m. '05 au début de la *ligne 3*, 0 m. '07 au début de la *ligne 4*, 0 m. '10 au début de la *ligne 5*, 0 m. '13 au début de la *ligne 6*.—*Ligne 6.* Lecture douteuse: il nous semble voir le haut d'une haste droite grêle, semblable au dernier jambage des N du reste de l'inscription, une haste droite, le haut d'un N et le haut d'un O.

He would also have provided material for comments on the form and shape of the monuments, the ornamentation, carving, and the like.

As the edition is critical and not explanatory, it affords no direct information as to the interest of the site. That is to follow. The inscriptions themselves, however, indicate some of that interest. The town, when

we first meet it in inscriptions of the earliest Empire, was a *pagus et civitas* governed by *suffetes* with some sort of senate of *decurions*. Later, *aediles* appear as the ruling powers, perhaps only the old *suffetes* in Latin dress, and later still *curatores*. About 200 the town acquired municipal, and about 260 colonial rank. Despite the lateness of its municipalization, it was early romanized, and that by civil and not by military influences. Of the 250 or so names on its monuments, not one per cent. is native, nor does any native god appear under his native name. But the inscriptions of Thugga, though instructive and in detail often important, are no rivals of its buildings, notably its Capitol and temples, lately described by Cagnat and Gauckler in their splendid work on the ancient monuments of Tunis. M. Poinssot has before him a task in which he may well be envied. Thugga is barely mentioned in ancient literature—once by Ptolemy, once by Procopius. Yet it lived a rich vigorous and successful life for four or five centuries. Its fortunes and those of a few similar towns will lighten up our knowledge of the real meaning of the Empire for the subject provinces.

F. HAVERFIELD.

SHORT NOTICES

PLATO'S NUPTIAL NUMBER.

Cuneiform Texts discovered by the Babylonian Expedition of the University of Philadelphia. Vol. xx., Part I., of Series A. (Published by the Department of Archaeology, University of Philadelphia, 1906.)

PROFESSOR H. V. HILPRECHT has just published some mathematical tables from Nippur which are assigned to the times of the Kassite Dynasty of Babylonia (*circa* 1400 B.C.). Among a number of tables, of multiplication, division, factors, squares, square roots, cubes, weights and measures, etc., are some with a marked peculiarity.

They contain a set of factors, or divisors, of 12,960,000, or 60^4 . While the ordinary multiplication tables register multiples of such prime numbers as 7, 11, 13, etc., these tablets only concern themselves with such factors of sixty and such powers of sixty as divide this Grand Unit. It is evident that having already learned to tabulate the results of multiplications without regard to any peculiar restriction upon the multiplier and the multiplicand, the Babylonian had gone on to register also the results of division; but had only been able to treat it as an inverse process and did not succeed in evolving a

general rule. He was thus able, by reference to his tables of multiplications, to pick out the factors which produced a certain result; and, if the divisor and dividend which he desired to use appeared in his factor tables, he could write down his quotient. He had reached that stage when, as Plato says, 'every divisor' was 'a gift from God.' It must then have seemed to him that there was at the end of his list a Grand Unity, as there was a unity at the beginning, into which all numbers would divide; or rather, as he soon perceived, all such numbers as had about them a peculiar nature. As his scale of notation was the sexagesimal, in which 60 , 60^2 , 60^3 , 60^4 were each represented by the sign used to denote 1, only written in larger form or in a separate place, he must have regarded this high number, of which alone factors could easily be tabulated without overhanging units or broken numbers, as a peculiarly perfect number.

Plato, and the Pythagorean philosophers, juggle with the same elements of arithmetic as the Babylonians did, but we do not know that all played the same tricks. Suffice it to say that nearly every number which Dr. Adam finds in Plato's speculations, Professor Hilprecht finds significantly placed in his Nippur mathematical tables. Professor Hilprecht's interpretation of the 'Law of Harmony' which he finds in Plato, treated as a commentary on Babylonian arithmetical cosmography, differs from Dr. Adam's 'Law of Change' which he sees in Plato's words.

Professor Hilprecht is undoubtedly right when he brings out so fully the significance of the 12,960,000 days, or 36,000 years, which, as Berosus told us of old, was a Babylonian cycle and shows that the same number must somehow control the life of man. Plato's hundred years would give 36,000 days, and a day in the life of man answers to a year in the life of the Universe.

We see now that the Babylonians had at their command a notation which they actually used to express 195,955,200,000,000, though what they wanted with such a number one can hardly say.

C. H. W. JOHNS.

TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

Der Text des Neuen Testaments: Neue Fragen Funde und Forschungen der neutestamentlichen Textkritik. Von RUDOLF KNOFF. Giessen: Topelmann, 1906. $8\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 48. M. 1.

THIS is an excellent little book. It provides an ideal introduction to the textual criticism of the New Testament as it is to-day. The author not only puts his subject clearly but has a serviceable knowledge of the work others are doing and have done for its elucidation. It would be unfair to sketch the course of his lecture—it is to be hoped that many will be induced to buy it for themselves—but this much may be said. He outlines the characteristics of the three or four great groups of texts for the New Testament: he notices that, as Nestle said, the year 1903 saw the passing of the old *textus receptus* (the British and Foreign Bible Society substituting in the next year a new eclectic text): he states the position of Westcott and Hort; and finally discusses the effect of the new evidence and new investigations, which have modified our estimate of their work and led many to deny its finality. Throughout the author exhibits learning and sanity of judgment. He is neither led away by the vehemence of Dean Burgon's school nor dazzled by the great names of the two Cambridge scholars, nor enticed by the will-o'-the-wisp vagaries of some at least among the new 'western' school. He distrusts Dr. F. Blass' hypothesis of two holographs of St. Luke's writings, because similar variants between 'western' and 'neutral' (or 'Alexandrian') texts occur in the other gospels. Nor will he give himself up unreservedly to the dictation of Codex Bezae, and still less to the sporadic peculiarities of single manuscripts which exhibit the *vetus latina* or other versions. In an appendix he enumerates a very useful selection of passages in which the broad differences between the great types of text can be observed. The beginner will find this worth working through, and, if he carefully studies the indications the writer gives of the directions in which fresh work must be done to supplement our materials for coming to a decision, he will be tolerably

prepared for independent study. It is very properly insisted by the author that the evidence of the Fathers from 150–400 A.D. must play a great part in the final solution of the problems he has outlined. Meanwhile an eclectic text, drawn from the consent, not of editors in the last fifty years, but of good and early representatives of the ‘Alexandrian’ and the ‘western’ traditions, would be useful to the rank and file of New Testament students. It was only the other day that a papyrus from Oxyrhynchus supplied new confirmation of the value which the ‘western’ text has. The Greek original of a passage in Irenaeus was recovered, and was found to agree with Codex Bezae. Although Prof. Knopf does not refer to this, he is aware of the change in the position of the question, and his little book can be warmly recommended and commended.

T. NICKLIN.

PARALIPOMENA SOPHOCLEA.

Paralipomena Sophoclea. Supplementary Notes on the Text and Interpretation of Sophocles. By LEWIS CAMPBELL. London: Rivingtons, 1907. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv + 287. 6s.

THIS book represents the matured opinion of a Sophoclean editor on disputed points in the text and interpretation of Sophocles, especially those where he has expressed opinions in his earlier commentaries from which Sir Richard Jebb differed. Professor Campbell now takes the opportunity of stating whether or not he has been converted to Jebb's views. Often he confesses to conversion, but his attitude is somewhat that of Alcmena to Zeus:—

Ζεὺς ἐξ ἑμοῦ μὲν οὐκ ἀκούσεται κακῶς,
εἰ δ' ἔστιν ὅστις αὐτὸς οἶδεν εἰς ἐμέ.

With his great admiration for Sir R. Jebb as an interpreter of Sophocles, he seems to feel that views of his own have been dismissed too summarily as ‘harsh,’ ‘untenable,’ or ‘impossible.’ In several instances he has vindicated his position by giving satisfactory reasons, as, e.g., on *O.T.* 902, where he proves the intransitive use of

ἀρμόττω in the parallel passage quoted from Plat. *Soph.*, and on *Phil.* 1207, where he quotes from the Ajax a similar instance of ‘prothysteron.’ But there are instances in which he has dismissed Jebb's views with equal curtness: e.g. on *Ant.* 637, where he makes no reply to Jebb's objections to the reading ἀξίως ἔσται, but merely says: ‘there is no sufficient reason for reading ἀξιόσεται (fut. pass.),’ or again on 1102 when, dismissing Jebb's δοκεῖ as tautological, he restates the view of δοκεῖς which Jebb had condemned. He has further taken the opportunity of adding fresh illustrations for certain passages, many of which are helpful, though at times the parallelism is not very close: it is difficult to see why *Herad.* 863 is quoted as a parallel for *Ant.* 325: on *Ant.* 1238 the quotation from *Agam.* 1389 is at least as good evidence for ῥοήν as for πνοήν: in *Ajax* 917 καί (= even) can hardly be paralleled by the use of καὶ μὴν, and the use of ἐξ ἑμοῦ in *O.T.* 997 is not very close to the frequent use of ἐκ with verbs of destruction. Among further criticisms it might be questioned whether there is a difference between the use of ἀν ἦκοι in *Ajax* 186 and ἀν ἐξήκοι in *O.T.* 1182, or whether χρόνον is the necessary word to supply in *El.* 1075, if we retain the reading, instead of supplying, with Wilamowitz, στόνον, the noun which is most easily supplied from the verb. But though there are many suggestions open to criticism, the book is worth attention as showing the independent judgment of a scholar with a strong love of Sophocles and a strong feeling for Sophoclean style: where he has let us into his confidence as to the reasons for adopting certain views, as on *Ajax* 405 and *O.T.* 1526, he is interesting. A few misprints may be noted: p. 11 ἄρ' for ἄρ: p. 16 πατράς for πατρός: p. 17 χῶρις: p. 27 οὐ for σύ: p. 27 ἀνὴρ: p. 27 *It is* for *Is it*: p. 31 Θνητῶν for θνητῶν: p. 33 ἦν for ἦν: p. 39 παρῶν: p. 42 πλευράς: p. 58 ἡμαρ: p. 196, 45 is a wrong reference: p. 266 κακως (unaccented): p. 267 τῶν: p. 268 πλέονας. On p. 157 it would be better to supply Ἡρακλέα than Ἡρακλῆ (see Jebb, *ad Trach.* 233), and there is rather loose English on p. 284: ‘εἰ is easily changed to ἐν, as Jebb does.’

A. S. OWEN.

TYLER'S SELECTIONS FROM THE GREEK LYRIC POETS.

Selections from the Greek Lyric Poets. With historical introduction and explanatory notes. Revised edition. Edited by HENRY M. TYLER. Boston: Ginn and Company. [No date, but copyright, 1906.] 12 mo. Pp. xxiv+191. Price \$1.

THE first edition of Prof. Tyler's *Greek Lyric Poets* appeared in 1879. He has waited almost three times the required nine years before issuing the second edition. The second edition follows pretty closely the first, and that in its turn, as Prof. Tyler stated in his preface, followed the well known edition of Buchholz. The present edition is increased by the welcome addition of the longer papyrus fragment of Alcman (Bergk 23) and two longer poems (16 and 17 [K. 17 and 18]) and two fragments (Bergk 13 and 22) of Bacchylides.

Probably no two persons would agree in selecting the poems to form a book of this sort, and Prof. Tyler's selection may fairly be called representative. One misses, however, the epigrams attributed to Plato, the scolia, and popular songs (especially the Harmodius and Aristogeiton song), the scattered epigrams (like the epitaphs of Sophocles and of Euripides), and certain additional fragments of Sappho, some of which might properly displace a few of the six hundred odd lines of Theognis or one or two of the fifteen Anacreontics which the book contains.

Prof. Tyler has noted any divergence in his text from the text of Bergk's 4th edition. Bergk's last (4th) edition appeared in 1882, and if Bergk were alive to-day, there is little doubt that his present readings would show more divergence from the 4th edition than do those of Prof. Tyler. A careful record of MSS. readings has a distinct value, but a mere record of variants from any particular edition gives no hint of the wildly conjectural restorations which are often necessary in dealing with the Greek lyric poets. A record of the variants from the last edition of the *Anthologia Lyrica* by Crusius would have reduced the foot-notes by about one half.

The introduction and the notes have been largely rewritten. The new is so much better than the old that we cannot help wishing that Prof. Tyler had at the outset discarded the scissors and taken a clean sheet of paper.

The introduction states the necessary facts in regard to the development of Greek poetry after Homeric times. One notes in it at times a tendency in the use of adjectives which is almost feminine; for example, on p. xi.

In Callinus 1. 1 Prof. Tyler translates μέγχις τεῦ κατ'αἰεῖσθαι as 'how long do you continue to lie prostrate?', but probably most people would be inclined to regard this as one of the well known uses of the present which overstep exact temporal limits (pres. in impassioned questions), since ἔξετε in the same line points plainly to the future.

In Simonides of Amorgus 1. 24 the note on ἔχοντες reads: 'the compound verb ἐπέχω is more common in this sense . . .'; but ἐπ' happens to be there, only it stands nearer the dative (ἐλγεσιν) than it does to ἔχοντες. In the same author 7. 1 χωρίς is

said to be used as an indeclinable adjective. In 7. 42 ἀλλοτν is said to mean 'variable,' but this is impossible unless it is combined with another word containing the stem ἄλλο-, e.g. ἄλλοτ' which Hartung wished to read here. In 7. 62 Prof. Tyler translates: 'she makes her husband show her favour even against his will,' but the whole context seems to show that this excessively fastidious woman cannot bear the idea of personal contact with her husband, who may not be so clearly as she appears to be. Hence it seems as if ἀνάγκη should be interpreted here just as Prof. Tyler interprets ἀνάγκη (above 44), i.e. under compulsion she submits to a caress.

These are matters about which one may disagree with Prof. Tyler. On the other hand one rejoices to see the correct explanation of the case of χράδα (Tyrtaeus 10. 27) which is implied in the note. References to the grammars are frequent, and in particular several parallel passages from English writers have been added in the revised edition. These are not of the character which has lately become fashionable—a miscellaneous collection intended to show that the editor, although a student of the Classics, does sometimes read English books (or at least consults Bartlett's *Familiar Quotations*)—but they are in every case apposite, and serve to make clear some point in the Greek text.

A book of this character which may serve to excite a wider interest in the Greek Lyric poets deserves a wide circulation.

FRANK COLE BABBIT.

STYLE IN LATIN DACTYLIC POETS.

De Sermone Dactylicorum Latinorum Quaestiones. Edited ERNST BEDNARA. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1906. Pp. 120. M. 5.

OF the artificial literary dialect of the Roman Augustan age we are, perhaps, not apt to appreciate the extreme artificiality until we have closely studied the elegiac poetry of Ovid. A valuable aid and incentive to such study is Ernst Bednara's investigation of the style of the Latin dactylic poets, but especially of Catullus and Ovid. This book is calculated to interest scholars in several ways. It is an admirable study of the evolution of language. What elements went to the making of the poetical conventions of Ovid or Virgil? How much is due to the conscious imitation of archaic poetry or prose, or to adaptations from popular speech? How much is due to Greek models, and how much to the *tours de force* of writers who felt themselves strong enough in their art to venture on deliberate innovations? If these and such questions are not completely answered in the course of this treatise, they are at any rate partially answered in a suggestive manner. From these pages, too, one might glean a fairly complete idea of the effect of the efforts made by the dactylic poets to increase the flexibility of the Latin language generally. As an aid to the composition of Latin verse I have read no book more stimulating than this, at least from the point of view of metrical conveniences. Dr. Rouse's introduction to his *Latin Elegiac Verse* is suggestive especially in the matter

of devices for paraphrasing (pp. 35-43); but Bednara's pages make one realise how supremely important is a thorough acquaintance with the morphology of Ovidian verse. Briefly to state Bednara's plan. Founding his work on the observations of Koene (1840), but avoiding some of his fallacies, he subjects the *Amores* and *Ars Amatoria* of Ovid (perhaps he should have added the *Heroides*) to a thorough scrutiny. His aim is to demonstrate the devices by which Catullus and Ovid surmounted the difficulties which the Latin language put in the way of dactylic composition. The first of his three main sections deals with words metrically unfitted for dactylic verse. The second treats of the solutions which the poets found for their difficulties, solutions connected with such points as order of words, elision, etc.; with shortening and lengthening of vowel sounds; with the use of alternative forms; the adjustment of syntax (as of number, gender, mood, and tense) to verse needs; and with 'remedia lexicæ,' that is, the adoption of synonyms or coining

of new words so as to dispense with inconvenient words. 'Ea (vocabula) quae non quadrabant, seponerantur, et saepe exilibus quasi artificibus et argutiis pro iusto verbo minus iustum, tamen dactylicum eligebatur' (Ploen). This second section is worked out clearly and thoroughly, and many interesting topics are treated by the way, but especially to be commended is the thorough examination of the subject of poetic plurals (pp. 50-79). In his third section the author sums up. His finding is that Catullus is not influenced by metrical necessity nearly so much as Ovid: 'sermo Catullianus magis est naturalis atque genuinus quam Ovidi.' 'Ovidius multo audacior est in vocabulis transponendis et in prosodia vocum mutanda, . . . Graecis flexionibus multo magis indulget, multo frequentius et licentius plurali (item singulari) poetico utitur, . . . multo plures adhibet periphrases, multo plura dactylica vocabula vel inventa recepit vel ipse invenit.'

S. E. WINBOLT.

OBITUARY

DR. JAMES ADAM.

JAMES ADAM was born in Aberdeenshire in 1860. He was educated at the Grammar School and University of Aberdeen, and in 1880 came to Cambridge as a scholar of Gonville and Caius. After his degree in 1884 he was elected fellow and became lecturer of Emmanuel, and he had no small share in the rapid growth of that college in reputation. He at once began to give his attention to Plato, compiling excellent school editions of the *Apology*, *Crito*, and *Euthyphro*. For the next twelve years he was engaged in preparing for his edition of the *Republic*; in 1891 he published a paper on the Nuptial Number, and in 1897 an edition of the text. For the elaborate commentary of 1902 he

had searched practically the whole of Platonic literature, neglecting no bundle of chaff which might contain a grain of corn. A volume of essays on the text and matter of the *Republic* was left for posthumous publication, together with his Gifford lectures on the Religious Teachers of Greece. As a lecturer he was stimulating in a high degree, and his lectures were favourites with all sorts and conditions of men. His death followed suddenly after an operation on August 30, and is an irreparable loss to scholarship. His personal qualities, which made him a staunch friend, and a trusted guide, will be no less missed in the University.

PROFESSOR STRACHAN.

THE death of Prof. John Strachan at the early age of forty-five after only a short illness, is a grievous loss, not merely to Celtic learning, in which his acute and monumental research had made him one of the first

authorities of our time, but also to the study of Greek. He was one of a group of eager Scotch students who owed their enthusiasm for study and a distinguished career in the world of learning to the inspiration of the

University of Aberdeen when Sir William Geddes was its Professor of Greek. He was fellow-student of Dr. P. Giles and the late Dr. James Adam in the Classical Honours Classes of that University from 1878 to 1881, and having won the Fullarton Scholarship at Aberdeen, and the coveted Ferguson Scholarship, he entered as a Scholar at Pembroke College, Cambridge, in 1882. His career at Cambridge was marked among other distinctions by the Porson University Scholarship and the 2nd Chancellor's Medal. With somewhat unusual liberality and foresight, the authorities of his College allowed him to spend a considerable part of his last two years in studying Comparative Philology and Keltic under Delbrück, Thurneysen, and other leaders of the new School of Philology in Germany; and this gave him a deep interest in linguistic study, which bore remarkable fruit.

Almost immediately after taking his degree at Cambridge, he was appointed Professor of Greek at, what was then the Owens College and is now the University of Manchester; and to this he added in 1889 the Lectureship in Comparative Philology, and in 1905 a Readership in Keltic, which was on the eve of being transformed into a full Professorship to meet the needs of the rapidly growing School of Keltic Studies which he had founded, when his tragically sudden death put an end to these hopes cherished so long and promising so brightly.

His contributions to Greek Scholarship were overshadowed in later years by his devotion to Keltic, but they were of no common order. Apart from a number of Philological notes on different points in Greek, his

edition of the Sixth Book of Herodotus in 1891, though designed primarily for the use of students rather than scholars, is distinguished from its companion volumes by a first hand mastery of all the sources of knowledge both of the language and of the subject-matter, and no one who has used it will readily forget the stimulating freshness and independence of the Commentary. At his death he left behind practically complete a Historical Grammar of Greek which he had undertaken for the Clarendon Press.

As a teacher of Greek his success lay with small classes of able students whom he inspired with his own enthusiasm. In his last year at Manchester, he had gathered together a class of six students to spend two hours a week with him in reading Sanskrit, one of whom has since proceeded to Cambridge holding a Research Scholarship.

His fame will rest on his great service to Keltic learning, especially as joint-editor of the *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, which brought light into a thousand dark places; and by his contribution to the dating of the documents of Old Irish by linguistic evidence. His memory will live long in the grateful recollections of many students, who first learnt from him that language is a living thing with a history and a romance of its own; and in the deep, affectionate regret of a multitude of colleagues, who knew in him a genial, loyal, warm-hearted companion, of high ideals and chivalrous sympathy with other men's endeavours, whose like they will not expect to meet again.

R. S. CONWAY.

ADOLF FURTWÄNGLER.

PROFESSOR FURTWÄNGLER died in hospital at Athens on 11th October last. He was busy with his friend Curtius on the excavations at Aegina, when both explorers were seized with dysentery. 'The one was taken and the other left.' As he was born (at Freiburg in Breisgau) in 1853, he was but

54 years old; but labours such as his might have undermined any constitution.

It is difficult to exaggerate the blank which his loss will make in archaeology. From 1874, when he published *Eros in der Vasenmalerei*, down to the time of his death, he poured forth a constant stream of learned

works, the mere list of which would fill pages. And some of them were of immense extent and shewed vast labour. It must suffice to mention a few.

Mykenische Thongefässe (1879), Mykenische Vasen (1886) (these two in partnership with Professor Löschcke), La collection Sabouroff (1883-7), Beschreibung der Vasensammlung zu Berlin (1885), Die Bronzen von Olympia (1890), Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik (1893), Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture (1895), Beschreibung der geschnittenen Steine im Antiquarium zu Berlin (1896), Intermezzi (1896), Neue Denkmäler antiker Kunst (1897-9), Beschreibung der Glyptothek König Ludwigs I zu München (1900), Auswahl hervorragender Vasenbilder (with Reichhold, 1900-), Die antiken Gemmen (1900), Das Tropaion von Adamklissi (1903), Aegina (1906).

In the three fields of Greek Sculpture, Vases, and Gems, Furtwängler produced some of the most remarkable works at present in existence: his memory was wonderful, his power of work almost superhuman, his accuracy in detail almost perfect. In comparing his Catalogue of Vases at Berlin with the originals, I found but three or four undoubted errors; no other catalogues with which I am acquainted, except possibly those of Amelung, equalling the value of his.

The extent and accuracy of his knowledge of ancient monuments was equalled by his familiarity with archaeological literature. Nothing seemed to escape him, not even papers by English writers. Indeed, he had a liking for our country, and was very glad to see one of his books in English dress.

He had travelled widely, and taken part in excavations at Olympia, Aegina, and Orchomenus. But his speciality was his knowledge of museums. Those of Germany and Italy were familiar to him. In England he had become well acquainted, not only with the British Museum, but with several of the smaller and private collections. The rapidity with which he learned, and the tenacity with which he remembered, statues or other antiquities was very notable. This of course was in part a natural endowment, but it was cultivated with the most assiduous attention and thought. Right or wrong, he did not hesitate to put every observed fact into the particular pigeon-hole of his mind to which he judged it to belong.

It will be seen by the extent of his publications that he did not keep his knowledge to himself, but built it into great treatises, which must for a long while remain standard works. Of the many thousands of pages which he printed perhaps not one does not contain something of value. For though the facts were often fitted into faulty constructions, they were there, ready for another use if needed.

Another very striking feature of Furtwängler's mind was its extraordinary mobility and flexibility. Though it was almost impossible to drive him from any view he maintained, he was continually shifting his ground on his own motion. In most men this would have led to inconsistency, if not to chaos. But in the case of Furtwängler it would be very difficult to prove that at any given time he held views irreconcilable one with the other. The forms in the kaleidoscope shifted but they always crystallized in regular shapes. In that battle of the giants which raged over the monument of Adamklissi, Furtwängler shewed how skilfully he could give up untenable views without ever yielding his ground to criticism.

I have dwelt on the great and conspicuous merits of Furtwängler. But there is another side to his work on which I insisted when he was in the field, and which I must not pass over even while we are regretting his loss. In the case of so remarkable a personality, the 'personal equation' was likely to be prominent; and in fact this greatly diminished the value of his work. His antipathies often carried him away; and as a controversialist he seems to have often sacrificed love of truth to love of victory. Nor can it be maintained that his judgment and sense of proportion were in any way equal to his knowledge and force. He was apt to judge monuments rather by some particular feature than in a broad historic way. And he was particularly prone to that kind of fallacy, the fallacy of cumulation, which may be called the besetting sin of the German specialist: he established probabilities or possibilities, and then built on them as if they were certainties, the construction growing at every step more flimsy, until at last it became a mere castle in the air.

On the other hand when he had to deal, as in the vase-books and that on Aegina, with monuments of definite date and clearly defined character, he was at his best, and reached a standard of thoroughness scarcely accessible to others. The *Masterpieces*, from which many English scholars judge him, shews him at his very worst, though even of that book some sections are admirable. For the Roman copies, of every degree of accuracy and inaccuracy, with which that work mainly deals, do not offer the same foothold to a resolute climber as do originals.

I have spoken only of the published

works of Furtwängler. I have not ventured to speak of him as a colleague or as an oral teacher, because in such matters I could only speak at second hand. I met him in London, Berlin, and Athens: and no one who met him could fail to be impressed with his tremendous vitality, the rapidity and sureness of his observation, his passionate devotion to his pursuit. That he fell, so to speak, on the field of battle, was most appropriate. One cannot help hoping that the Greeks, for whom he did so much, may find some way of setting up a memorial of his brilliant services in the cause of humanism.

P GARDNER.

CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editor of THE CLASSICAL REVIEW.

Readers of the *Classical Review* may be interested to know that during the last twelve months much work has been done dealing with malaria in Greece in ancient (and modern) times. I should like to mention the following:—

- (1) *Malaria in Greece*, by R. Ross. (*Journal of Tropical Medicine*, Nov. 15, 1906.)
- (2) τινὰ περὶ ἐλαιογενῶν κατὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους Ἕλληνας ἱατρούς, by Dr. A. Kouzis, ἀνατύπωσις ἐκ τῶν

πεπραγμένων τοῦ Συλλόγου πρὸς περιστολὴν τῶν ἐλωδῶν νόσων, Athens, 1907. This is an unscholarly work, but valuable for the material it contains.

- (3) *La Malaria à Athènes depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours*, par le docteur Jean P. Cardamatis, *Atti della Società per gli Studi della Malaria*, 1907.
- (4) *Le paludisme en Grèce*, par le dr. Const. Savas, in the same volume of the 'Atti.'

W. H. S. JONES.

ARCHAEOLOGY

MONTHLY RECORD.

SOUTH RUSSIA.

Panticapaion.—Treasures of jewellery and trinkets of the usual Pontic type were found in the cemetery, together with more important objects: a rolled lead plate inscribed on both sides with imprecations, several sculptured tombstones with epitaphs, some Hellenistic terracottas and a series of vases, of which the best is a large Attic *lecanē* of the later fine style, painted with a toilet-scene of women and Erotes, with frequent touches of colour and gilding.

Chersonnesos.—Part of the earliest town wall near the sea was excavated, and outside the city remains of large Roman baths were discovered. Engraved gems and gold ornaments were also found here.

Olbia.—The beginnings of the Greek colony were explored in the early Ionian remains on the island of Berezanj. The most considerable finds were of pottery, in which the fabrics known as Early Boeotian,

Milesian, and Naucratic occurred for the first time in this locality. A common black vase has a *graffito* in sixth century Ionian script: μηδεὶς με κλέψει. Terracottas were found which repeat the motive of the seated Branchidai figures. On the later mainland site discoveries tend to show that the town was still in existence at the end of the third century A.D. A series of carved ivory plaques of late Roman period represent a seated Oriental potentate and his train, dancing girls and tumbling children.¹

EGYPT.

Aphroditopolis.—A good papyrus containing some twelve hundred verses of Menander has been found in the ruins of a house.¹

AFRICA.

The *Fossa Regia* of Scipio Aemilianus, the frontier first of the Roman province and the Numidian

¹ *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1907, 2.

kingdom, later of the two provinces of *Africa Vetus* and *Africa Nova*, has been discovered in part of its course. A boundary stone of Vespasian, set up in a place *qua Fossa Regia fuit*, suggests that the original ditch had been filled up and that the line which it defended was marked by the row of stones which have just been traced for a distance of nearly twenty miles. This line is between Henchir-el-Barhala in the north and Djebel Khalled in the south, and follows the natural watershed of the country. Fifteen inscribed boundary stones show that the frontier in one place divided the *Civitas Thuggensis* from an Imperial domain, the first recorded in Africa. The inscriptions read, with slight variations: CAES · N · S · F · R · G · on the domain side; and on the other: CIVIT · THVGG · T · P · PER · TIBERINO · AVG · LIB · PRAE · POSITO · MESORIBVS.²

Carthage.—In the Punic necropolis there has been found an Egyptian pilgrim-bottle in blue and green faïence ('New Year' vase), inscribed with the cartouche of the Amasis of Herodotus. This gives the date of a valuable find made on the same site in 1899, which included a vase of precisely similar fabric. The other objects, which are thus assigned to a definite period, were rough vases of local manufacture, Punic gold ornaments, two pieces of Etruscan *bucchero* and a fine Corinthian *aryballos* with a design of two hoplites fighting between sphinxes.³

A retaining-wall of peculiar construction has been excavated. It is made of large wine-jars filled with earth and packed in the earth in tiers. The jars are about two thousand in number. It recalls the wall of similar construction on the Byrsa slope, except that these jars are set vertically, while the others were laid in a horizontal position. The Byrsa wall was dated by inscriptions to the republican period, and the new example is somewhat later.

An interesting inscription occurs on a base found near the Amphitheatre: *Deo Libero amplissimae Karthaginiensis cenopolae cum meraris omnibus*.¹

Bulla Regia.—An elaborate public building, perhaps the *Curia*, has been cleared. In one of the rooms were three colossal statues: an Apollo leaning on his lyre, on which is a relief of the slaying of Marsyas; a Ceres, and an Aesculapius. An instructive inscription goes with the Apollo—APOLLINI · GENIO · COL · BVLLENSIS · REG. From fragments and inscriptions it appears that the court and porticos of the building were full of monuments of Emperors and distinguished citizens. Many other inscriptions were found; one shows that it was Hadrian who raised the town to the dignity of a *Colonia*—AELIA · HADRIANA · AVGVSTA, and another gives the curious title of Diana Corollitica, an epithet which is said to refer to the material of the statue, the white *lapis coralliticus* (or *corolliticus*?) of Pliny (*N.H.* xxxvi, 62). M. Merlin compares *C.I.L.* xiv, 2853—*Simulacra duo Spei corallitica*.

Hadrumetum.—The excavation of the first group of Catacombs was completed in February last, after more than three years' work. One hundred and

thirty-six galleries were discovered, of more than a mile in length, in which were some seven thousand burials. The newly discovered galleries of the north-east are still to be explored. In these has already been found the curious epitaph: ARISVS · IN · PACE · NATVS · ORA · SEXTA · BIXIT · SS · VIII.⁴

The following apotropaic legend was found on a threshold in a Roman *villa* about thirty miles from Kairnan: *Invide, livide, titula tanta, quem adseverabas fieri non posse, perfecte sunt d.d. n.n.; miniera ne contemnas*. Another apotropaic formula from Africa was the mosaic inscription: *bide vive e bide: possas plurima vide*. The threefold repetition of *vide* is characteristic.

Thamugadi.—The building with an apse has been identified as a library by the discovery of another fragment of the inscription found there, which now runs: *ex liberalitate M. Juli Quintiani Flavi Rogatiani c.m.v. quam testamento suo reipublicae Thamugadensium patriae suae legavit opus bibliothecae ex IIS · DCCC · mil num. curante republica perfectum est*. This identification had previously been suggested by the imperfect inscription and by the similarity of the building to the library at Ephesos; and it strengthens the opinion that the apse in the *forum* of Pompeii was also a public library.¹

E. J. FORSDYKE.

The British Museum.

THE EXCAVATIONS AT CASTLESHAW.

CASTLESHAW is a station lying just within the S.W. boundary of the West Riding. There are two forts—the smaller lying symmetrically within the larger, and resting on one of its sides. They lie on the direct line of the second *iter*, just where that highway rises to cross the wall of the Pennines in a north-easterly direction, and almost exactly half-way between the two legionary fortresses at Chester and York. Not only does Castleshaw lie midway between the Roman forts at Manchester and *Cambodunum* (at Slack, near Huddersfield), but already a tile-stamp has turned up at Castleshaw which has been found at both the other stations. Perhaps the occurrence of a tile-stamp must not be taken as conclusive evidence of the occupation of a fort by the cohort named, but it is at least significant that the stamp

COH · III · BR ·

has now been found at three successive stations lying on that part of the second *iter* that ran from Chester to York. Unfortunately the interpretation of the stamp is still an open question, the best explanation perhaps being *cohors tertia Bracaraugustanorum*. This cohort is known from the Diplomata to have been in Britain in 103, 124, and 146 A.D., but its location has not been definitely fixed. Another suggested reading is *Breucorum*.

Of the legible coins two are first brasses of Trajan, and one is a Vespasian. (It will be remembered that the excavation of *Cambodunum* yielded coins ranging from Vespasian to Hadrian.) Turning to the pottery,

¹ *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1907, 2.

² *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.* 1907, août.

³ *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.* 1907, juin.

⁴ *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.* 1907, juillet.

the occurrence of a 'Samian' Bowl of the well known shape 'No. 29' is taken to be conclusive evidence for an occupation as early as the first century.

The more general features of the Excavation are of equal interest. The Ramparts shew the layers of piled sods as clearly as any on the Antonine *Vallum*, and the lines of the inner Rampart are defined by a double stone kerb. The gateways are indicated by post holes, and the existence of a strong paved road crossing the larger fort has opened the question whether this may not be the line of the second *iter* itself, as it appears to sweep round the inner fort in much the same way as the first *iter* skirts a number of forts on its line. Accordingly an attempt is to be made to trace this road up the valley along which the second *iter* almost certainly passed. It will be

interesting if the excavations at Castleshaw throw light on the second *iter* just as those at *Corstopitum* seem to be revealing part of the first.

Part of the area of the inner fort has been uncovered and the examination of a building flanking the chief street has already brought to light a hypocaust in excellent preservation—even to the flight of steps leading down to the *praefurnium*.

The whole site has been purchased for excavation by two local antiquaries, Mr. Samuel Andrew of Oldham, and Major Lees of Heywood, and they have not only defrayed the expense of this year's work but intend to complete the excavation.

F. A. BRUTON.

Grammar School, Manchester.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Publishers and Authors forwarding Books for review are asked to send at the same time a note of the price.

The size of Books is given in inches: 4 inches = 10 centimetres (roughly). They are unbound unless the binding is specified.

** * Excerpts and Extracts from Periodicals and Collections are not included in these Lists unless stated to be separately published.*

Adamson (John William) *The Practice of Instruction. A Manual of Method general and special.* 7½" × 4¾". Pp. xxii + 512. London, National Society's Depository. 1907. Cloth, 4s. 6d. net.

Aegidius Corboliensis. Aegidii Corboliensis Viaticus de signis et symptomatibus aegritudinum, nunc primum edidit Valentinus Rose. (*Bibl. Script. Medii Aevi Teub.*) 7" × 4½". Pp. xxx + 126. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1907. Geh. M. 2.80. Geb. M. 3.20.

Apulei. Apulei opera quae supersunt. Vol. I. Apulei Platonici Madaurensis metamorphoseon libri xi, recensuit Rudolfus Helm. (*Bibl. Script. Gr. et Rom. Teub.*) 7" × 4½". Pp. viii + 296. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1907. Geh. M. 3. Geb. M. 3.40.

Aristotle. Aristotelis de animalibus historia, textum recognovit Leonardus Dittmeyer. (*Bibl. Script. Gr. et Rom. Teub.*) 7" × 4½". Pp. xxvi + 468. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1907. Geh. M. 6. Geb. M. 6.60.

Arnold (Edward Vernon) *Cothurnulus.* Three short Latin historical plays for the use of beginners, with vocabularies. 7¼" × 5". Pp. 56. London, George Bell & Sons. 1907. 1s.

Axtell (Harold L.) *The Deification of Abstract Ideas in Roman Literature and Inscriptions. (Degree Dissertation.)* 9½" × 6¾". Pp. 100. Chicago, University Press. 1907. 75c.

British Museum. Marshall (F. H.) *Catalogue of the Finger Rings, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman, in the Departments of Antiquities, British Museum.* 10¼" × 7¼". Pp. liv + 258, with 160 text illustrations

and 35 plates. London, printed by Order of the Trustees. 1907. Cloth, 23s.

Caecilius Calactinus. Caecilii Calactini fragmenta, collegit Ernestus Ofenloch. (*Bibl. Script. Gr. et Rom. Teub.*) 7" × 4½". Pp. xl + 242. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1907. Geh. M. 6. Geb. M. 6.60.

Caesar. C. Juli Caesaris de bello Gallico liber VIII, edited by W. H. D. Rouse, Litt.D. (*Blackie's Latin Texts.*) 7½" × 4½". Pp. xii + 34. London, Blackie & Son. 1907. Linen, 6d. net.

Christ (A. Th.) *Platons Apologie des Sokrates und Kriton, nebst Schlusskapiteln des Phaidon und der Lobrede des Alkibiades auf Sokrates aus dem Symposium für den Schulgebrauch heraus. von A. Th. C. Fünfte Auflage.* 7½" × 5". Pp. 118, mit einem Titelbild. Wien, F. Tempsky; Leipzig, G. Freytag. 1908. Geb. K. 1.50 or M. 1.20.

Cornelius Nepos. Corneli Nepotis liber de excellentibus ducibus exterarum gentium, edited by W. H. S. Jones, M.A. (*Blackie's Latin Texts.*) 7½" × 4½". Pp. 136. London, Blackie & Son. 1907. Linen, 8d. net.

— *Cornelio Nepote e Q. Curzio Rufo Letture Latine di G. Schmidt. Edizione Italiana fatta sulla 4ª ed. Tedesca da G. Vettach.* 9" × 6". Pp. 76 with 2 maps. Vienna, F. Tempsky. 1907. Cloth boards, M. 1.50 or K. 1.50.

Deubner (Ludwig) *Kosmas und Damian. Texte und Einleitung.* 9¼" × 6¼". Pp. 240. Leipzig und Berlin, B. G. Teubner. 1907. Geh. M. 8. Geb. M. 9.

Diogenes. Diogenis Oenoandensis fragmenta ordinavit

- et explicavit Johannes William. (*Bibl. Script. Gr. et Rom. Teub.*) 7" x 4½". Pp. xlvii + 106. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1907. Geh. M. 2.40. Geb. M. 2.80.
- Gehler* (Heinrich) Ausgewählte kleine Schriften. 8½" x 5½". Pp. vi + 430. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1907. Geh. M. 5. Geb. M. 6.
- Hall* (G. F.) Sources for Greek History between the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars, collected and arranged by G. F. H., M.A. Second Issue. 9" x 5½". Pp. xii + 440. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1907. Cloth, 10s. 6d. net.
- Homer*. *Homeri Carmina*, recensuit et selecta lectionis varietate instruxit Arthurus Ludwich. Pars prior. *Ilias*. Volumen alterum. 9" x 5½". Pp. xii + 652. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1907. Geh. M. 20. Geb. M. 23.
- *Homer's Odyssey*. Schulausgabe von Paul Cauer. Teil. I. Aufl. 4. 7½" x 5". Pp. xvi + 202. Leipzig, G. Freytag. 1905. Cloth, M. 1.40.
- Hopkins* (R. V. Nind) The Life of Alexander Severus. (*Cambridge Historical Essays. No. XVI. The Prince Consort Prize*, 1906.) 7¾" x 5". Pp. xxii + 280. Cambridge, University Press. 1907. Cloth, 4s.
- Horatius Flaccus*. Auswahl von Dr. Michael Fetschenig. 4te. Auflage. 7½" x 5". Pp. iv + 260, mit 2 Karten. Leipzig, G. Freytag; Wien, F. Tempsky. 1907. Cloth, M. 1.80, or 2 K.
- *Q. Horati Flacci carmina* recensuit Fridericus Vollmer. Editio major. (*Bibl. Script. Gr. et Rom. Teub.*) 7" x 4½". Pp. viii + 392. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1907. Geh. M. 2. Geb. M. 2.40.
- Jörg* (Johannes) A. Cornelius Celsus und die Medizin in Rom. (Sonderabdruck aus dem XIX. Bande der *Neuen Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, Geschichte und deutsche Literatur*.) 10¼" x 7". Pp. 377-412. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1907. M. 1.20.
- Jones* (W. H. S.), *Ross* (Major R.), and *Ellett* (G. G.) Malaria, a neglected factor in the History of Greece and Rome by W. H. S. J., M.A.; with an introduction by Major R. R., F. R. S., C. B.; and a concluding chapter by G. G. Ellett, M. B. 7½" x 4¾". Pp. viii + 108. Cambridge, Macmillan & Bowes. 1907. Cloth, 2s. 6d.
- Longinus*. Longinus on the Sublime. The Greek text edited after the Paris manuscript with introduction, translation, facsimiles, and appendices by W. Rhys Roberts. Second edition. 9" x 5½". Pp. xii + 288, with 2 plates. Cambridge, University Press. 1907. Cloth, 9s.
- Macaulay*. Marginal notes by Lord Macaulay, selected and arranged by the Rt. Hon. Sir George Otto Trevelyan, Bart. 9¼" x 6". Pp. 64. London, Longmans, Green & Co. 1907. Cloth, 2s.
- Maccari* (L.) De Ovidii Metamorphoseon distichis. 9½" x 6½". Pp. 24. Senae Juliae, S. Bernardini. 1907.
- *Osservazione ad Orazio (Secondo Saggio)*. 9½" x 6½". Pp. 16. Siena, S. Bernardino. 1907.
- Orlando* (Francesco) Le Letture pubbliche in Roma Imperiale. 10¼" x 6¾". Pp. viii + 254. Faenza, Premiata Tipographia Sociale. 1907.
- Roscher* (W. H.) Enneadische Studien. Versuch einer Geschichte der Neunzahl bei den Griechen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des ält. Epos, der Philosophen und Ärzte. (Des XXVI Bandes der *Abhandl. d. K. S. Gesellschaft, d. Wissensch., phil. hist. Kl. No. I.*) 11½" x 7¾". Pp. 170. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1907. M. 6.
- Sallust*. Des C. Sallustius Crispus Bellum Catilinae, Bellum Jugurthinum und Reden und Briefe aus den Historien zum Schulgebrauche heraus. von August Scheindler. Dritte Auflage. 7½" x 5". Pp. 152. mit 2 Karten. Leipzig, G. Freytag; Wien, F. Tempsky. 1907. Geb. M. 1.50 or K. 1.80.
- Schmidt* (G.) und *Vettach* (G.) Fraseologia. Note dichiarative e vocabolario per Cornelio Nepote e Q. Curzio Rufo Lettere Latine di G. S. and G. V. 8¾" x 5¾". Pp. 68. Vienna, F. Tempsky. 1907. Cloth boards, M. 1.40 or K. 1.40.
- Schulz* (Otto Th.) Das Kaiserhaus der Antonine und der letzte historiker Roms nebst einer Beigabe 'Das Geschichtswerk des Anonymus.' 9" x 6¼". Pp. xi + 274. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1907. Geh. M. 8. Geb. M. 9.
- Scott* (E. H.) and *Jones* (Frank) A first Latin Grammar. 8" x 5¼". Pp. viii + 150. London, Blackie & Son. 1907. Cloth, 2s.
- Sedlmayer-Scheindler*. Lateinisches Übungsbuch für die oberen Klassen der Gymnasien. Vierte Auflage heraus. von Dr. H. St. Sedlmayer. 9" x 6". Pp. 264. Wien, F. Tempsky. 1907. Geh. K. 2. 64. Geb. K. 3. 20.
- Seignobos* (Charles) History of Ancient Civilization. 8¼" x 5½". Pp. xvi + 372. London, T. Fisher Unwin. 1907. Cloth, 5s. net.
- Weuger* (Dr. Leopold) Die Stellung des öffentlichen römischen Rechts im Universitätsunterrichte. Zwei Vorträge gehalten im Grazer Juristenvereine. 9¼" x 6½". Pp. 40. Wien, Manzche K. u. K. Hof-Verlags- und Universitäts-Buchhandlung. 1907. K. 1.40.
- Wilmot-Buxton* (E. M.) A book of Noble Women. 7¾" x 5". Pp. viii + 308, with 16 illustrations. London, Methuen & Co. 1907. Cloth, 3s. 6d.

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